ORISSA IN THE MAKING

With a Foreword by

SIR EDWARD A. GAIT, M.A., K.C.S.I.

Retired Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa



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Printed at Messrs. U. Ray & Sons' Press, and published by the University of Calcutta

1925

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

I. The History of the Bengali Language, (Published by the University of Calcutta), 1920. Price Rs. 5

Opinion

Writes Dr. L. D. Barnett in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1923 :

Mr. Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrine deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here. Opening with a stout denial of Sir G. Grierson's theory of the origin of the Aryan Vernaculars, he maintains their derivation from the Vedic Language and explains their variations as due to the influence of non-Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian; in particular, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Magadhi Prakrit, and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian speech....To us the most attractive chapters are II-IV, on the names of Vanga and Bānglā, the geography of ancient Bānglā with the connected regions—Gauḍa, Rāḍha and Vanga, VI, on Bengali phonology, and VII-IX, a fine study of accent in Sanskrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of special value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language. On the whole, it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive, and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali, (p. 443).

II. Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, 3 Vols., published by the University of Calcutta.

FOREWORD

BY

SIR EDWARD A. GAIT, M.A., K.C.S.I., Etc.

Retired Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar & Orissa

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has been engaged for many years in research work connected with the early history of Orissa and has taken a predominant part in the collection and decipherment of the copper-plate inscriptions of its ancient rulers. It is therefore very suitable, now that a large amount of material has been collected, that he should undertake the task of piecing together the scattered fragments of the picture and showing in general outline the course of events which culminated in the emergence of Orissa as a distinct national and lingiustic unit.

Mr. Mazumdar has dealt with all the ancient dynasties of which any record exists and has come to the conclusion that Orissa took its present shape during the rule of the Kosala Guptas. The Kings sprang from the family whose rule over Dakshina Kosala (corresponding to the

Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces) came to an and in the latter part of the ninth century A.D. Shortly before this date, a scion of the family, Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta (or possibly his father Mahāśiva Gupta) set up an independent kingdom in the Sambalpur Tract, and made his capital at the confluence of the Tel and Mahanadi rivers, where the capital of the Sonpur State now stands. The copper-plate inscriptions of Janamejaya's son Yayāti show that the latter's rule extended also over Tri-Kalinga, *i.e.*, Utkala (Cuttack), Kongada (Puri) and Kalinga (Ganjam), but there is nothing to show whether he or one of his two predecessors was the original conqueror. The Andhras never colonized any part of Orissa; and though repeated expeditions by the Chola Kings into and through Orissa are on record, these kings never really administered that tract, but merely exercised a loose overlordship over the Kosala Guptas, until Chola Ganga annexed the plains portion of Orissa to his Andhra Kingdom in 1076 A.D., leaving only the Sambalpur Tract to the Kosala Guptas, who continued to reign there till the early part of the twelfth century.

Where the materials are so scanty and the numerous gaps have to be filled in by intelligent guess-work, it is not to be expected that the conclusions of the pioneer worker in the field will meet with universal acceptance in all respects. Finality can only be reached, if at all, after prolonged criticism and argumentation. But Mr. Mazumdar has rendered a very valuable service by arranging the available material in a connected form, and indicating the inferences which he draws from it. It is to be hoped that his book will recieve the attention which it deserves from all who are interested in rescuing the ancient history of India from oblivion.

CAMBERLY:

5-6-1925.

PREFACE

The following pages which embody almost entirely the result of the personal research of the author are intended to constitute rather a source-book than a story of Orissa for popular readers. Consistently with the scope of this work, as the title of it will indicate, the history of fully organized Orissa of the time of the Muslim Rulers (1568—1750) and of the time of the Maratha supremacy (1750—1803), could not be taken up for narration. How and when several tracts of dissimilar ethnic character did come into the composition of Orissa as it now stands by accepting an Aryan Vernacular as the dominating speech for the whole province, is the thesis which has been sought to be worked out.

The author has no right to seek the indulgence of the readers in any matter in connection with the execution of this work on the ground of his present physical disability; the matter is alluded to here to explain this highly regrettable omission that this book has been published without an index. It was impossible for the

author who had to dictate the following pages to his amanuensis to prepare an index, and it was not within his means to secure the services of such a person as might do the work for him.

It is recorded with delight that the University of Calcutta has accepted this book as its own publication. When the aforesaid approval of the Calcutta University was officially recorded on inspection of the manuscripts of this book by proper authorities, the University was involved in financial difficulties. On being informed of this state of things, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Sing Deo, Dharmanidhi, Jnanagunakar, K.C.I.E., the Ruling Chief of Sonpur State, undertook in his usual liberality to bear the entire cost of publishing this book; it is to this generosity this book owes its publication. On behalf of the Calcutta University as well as on behalf of the author himself very grateful thanks are offered to Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya who has always been noted as a great patron of learning.

Despite its defects this work is sure to be of some use to the future historians of Orissa. It may be mentioned in justification of a provincial history of this nature, that it is not yet time when a history of India worth the name

can be sought to be written for want of well-collected provincial accounts. The scholars have still to proceed through the tangled woods to find out the old and forgotten tracks by which many scattered tracts all over the vast continent of a country were once connected together. What is required to be done at this stage is to work with patience to collect materials from different sources. Let the tiny streamlets of provincial historical records flow on now, with unabated energy, through the unnoticed hilly regions to give rise to a mighty river of a full-bodied history in the future.

The following are the principal works which have been referred to and consulted in the preparation of the following pages :—

"The Feudatory Gazetteer of Orissa" by L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, the District Gazetteers of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore and Sambalpur by L. S. S. O'Malley, the District Gazetteers of Bilaspur and Raipur, Grant's "Old C. P. Gazetteer," Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal," "Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces" by Russell and Hiralal, Sir Edward A. Gait's "History of Assam," several Census Reports of India, the "Epigraphia Indica," Archæo-

logical Reports of India," the "Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," Vol. III, and Notices of some South Indian Inscriptions by Venkayya.

Calcutta University
April, 1925

AUTHOR

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Orissa, though as big as Ireland in area, is not a province of much significance in this country; to the people of India in general, the town of Puri on the coast of the Bay of Bengal is a spot of great religious interest, but no part of the province lying beyond the sea-board tract, is of any consequence to them. It is the sea-board tract, which has principally been the land of historical interest. True it is, that only this tract of the province of Orissa was once comprised in the ancient mighty kingdom of Kalinga, and it is this tract, which is alone spoken of by the Moslem historians in giving accounts of the territorial possessions of the Mahomedan rulers, but by ignoring the high lands of Orissa, we miss the real history of the country. It is of great significance to note, that five distinct tracts of land or sub-provinces, each having its own ancient history, have come into the composition of Orissa, and consequently we cannot rest satisfied with the history of the

eastern tract alone. For a connected history of Orissa, the accounts of all the sub-provinces must be narrated and got together.

It is not true, what is too often assumed in the avowed works on the history of Orissa, that the early history of this country merges in the history of Kalinga. The mistake is due to what has been indicated above, namely, that the seaboard districts of modern Orissa, which once formed an integral part of the ancient Kalinga Empire, and which constitute to-day the most important portion of Orissa, are only taken into consideration.

It is not taken into account, that the Oḍras and the Utkalas (whose names the province now bears) differed altogether from the Kalinga people by race, language and habits, and that these Oḍras and Utkalas poured into the seaboard tract, at the complete disintegration of the Kalinga Empire. It is quite in the nature of things, that the new order replacing the old, or rather coming into being in the place of the old, should altogether break with the past, by almost wiping out the old civilization of an alien people.

How and when the name Kalinga was wiped off the face of the eastern tract of Orissa, and

how the name Orissa, as well as its literary variant Utkala could be assumed by the entire land forming to-day an administrative division in the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa, should be discussed in detail to give a good back-ground to the history of Orissa. I once cherished the hope of fully narrating the early history of Orissa, but my physical disability due to complete loss of eye-sight has been in my way, and I fail to deal with the mass of hitherto unpublished facts in a thorough and systematic manner. I discuss however, the essential facts briefly in their broad outlines, to indicate the lines of inquiry which a historian should pursue to construct a real history of the province.

In narrating the history of Orissa in the making, I depend mainly upon the result of my own research, and it is for the future historian to declare its worth or otherwise. I have not narrated how the old Kalinga Empire fared in the Maurya times, first because the story has been sufficiently told in all works of Indian history, and secondly because the history of Orissa begins, where the history of the Kalinga Empire ends. The causes which were operative in the disintegration of the Kalinga Empire,

have not as yet been ascertained, and I have therefore only dealt with the general result of the disintegration. Only those facts of the old Kalinga Empire have been brought into prominence in the following pages, as bear directly upon the history of Orissa. I have devoted myself to the accounts of the hitherto-neglected sub-provinces, which have come into the composition of Orissa. It is therefore necessary for the readers to keep all those sub-provinces steadily in view; it is desirable that the Geographical situation of the whole land should be noted with some care by referring to the map specially prepared for this work.

Geography of Orissa.—Orissa, as it is now politically constituted, lies between 22°·34′ and 19°·2′ north and 82°·32′ and 87°·11′ east, and has an area of 40,000 square miles. This is certainly a vast area, but the country is sparsely populated, and not less than one-third of the whole area is taken up by hills and forests. A considerable portion of the district of Ganjam has to be added to this province, to get the entire land in which Oriya is the dominant language. The northern boundary line of the Oriya-speaking zone, runs from a point on the

sea-shore at the north-east corner of the district of Balasore, to the north-west corner of the Feudatory State of Gāngpur, by demarcating the southern boundary of the districts of Midnapur and Ranchi. A range of wild hills traversed by some very narrow passes, stands on the north-western boundary of the Gāngpur State, and separates Oriya-speaking Gāngpur from the Hindi-speaking tracts, attached to Chutia-Nagpur to the north, and to the Central Provinces to the west. We are reminded here of the well-known saying that mountains separate and the rivers unite the races of man.

Those who are even superficially acquainted with the land just described, cannot fail to notice that peoples or rather tribes of dissimilar culture, live in what may be called *contiguous isolation* ; they do not live, or rather cannot now live being openly hostile to one another, but non-co-operation with one another has been their dominant feature ever since. The matter is highly interesting and instructive alike to the historian, to the ethnologist and to the sociologist. The political reformers of our time may note, that "non-cooperation" is in the very order of things in our society in many parts of our

country. The work entitled "Castes and tribes" in the "Central Provinces" by Russel and Hiralal, may be referred to, to get some idea of what has been stated here. It is the physical aspect of this country which has greatly helped this state of things, and as such, the readers should get themselves broadly familiar with this physical aspect of the country.

As the history of the tract of Sambalpur will have to be separately narrated, the physical aspect of it will be dealt with subsequently in its proper place; again, to distinguish the old Kalinga Empire from the land of the Odras and Utkalas, the sea-board tract of Orissa will have to be separately described. I begin by describing here the physical aspect of the high-lands of Orissa, lying between the tract of Sambalpur and the sea-board districts of Orissa.

High-lands of Orissa—As to the physical aspects of the highlands of Orissa, the readers wanting to acquaint themselves with elaborate details, should do well to refer to the Feudatory States Gazetteer of Orissa by L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay. To serve my purpose, I take the liberty to quote a few sentences from this excellent work of Mr. Cobden Ramsay.

After enumerating the native States of the Garjat area, the author gives us the following picture of the High lands of Orissa with a deal of scientific accuracy :—

"The States form a succession of hill ranges rolling backwards towards Central India. They form three watersheds from south to north, with fine valleys between, down which pour the three great rivers of the inner table-land. The southernmost is the valley of the Mahānadi, spreading out into fertile plains watered by a thousand mountain-streams. At the Barmul pass, the river winds round magnificently wooded hills, from 1,500 to 2,500 feet high, forming the boundary of the States of Narsingpur and Baḍambā. On the other side they slope down upon the States of Hindol and Dhenkanal, supplying countless little feeders to the Brāhmani, which occupies the second of the three valleys. From the north bank of the Brāhmani river the hills again roll back in magnificent ranges, till they rise into the Keonjhar watershed, with peaks from 2,500 to 3,500 feet high, culminating in Malayagiri, 3,895 feet high, in the State of Pal-Laharā. This watershed, in turn slopes down into the third valley, that of the Baitaranī,

from whose eastern or left bank rise the mountains of Mayurbhanj, heaped upon each other, in noble masses or rock, from 3000 to nearly 4000 feet high, sending countless tributaries to the Baitaranī on the south, and pouring down the waters of the Burā-balang with the feeders of the Subarṇarekhā on the north."

The River system—As a country for its unity and prosperity depends to a great extent upon its river-system, let me give here a brief account of the rivers, which intersect modern Orissa. It is a striking phenomenon, that the rivers Mahānady, Brāhmaṇi, Baitaraṇī, and Burābalang, which flow through Orissa, belong exclusively to that province. The rocky and un-navigable portion of the Mahānadi from its source in the Raipur District, to the western boundary of the Sambalpur District, may be set down as a seeming exception; it will be seen however, subsequently, that this small portion of the river lies in that portion of Chattisgarh, which was once intimately connected with, if not included in, the Sambalpur tract. The Mahānadi, which is a river of the first magnitude, flows through and past the following districts and native States:—Sambalpur, Sonepur, Baud,

Āṭhmallik, Angul, Daspallā, Narsinghpur, Baḍambā, Tighiria, Khaṇḍpārā (once joined inseparably with Nayāgarh), Āṭhgarh and Cuttack. The first big affluent of the Mahānadi on the left, is the *Ib*, which connects Gāngpur with Sambalpur. The river *Ong* flows through the states of Patna and Sonepur, and falls into the Mahanadi in the latter State. In the language of Mr. Cobden Ramsay, the Tel enters the Kālāhāṇḍi State from the north-west, and flowing north-east, discharges itself into the Mahanadi, close to the town of Sonepur: It forms about half the length of the boundary between the States of Kālāhāṇḍi and Patna, and through the rest of its course forms the boundary between the States of Sonepur and Baud. In describing the rivers Baitaraṇī, Brāhmaṇi, and Burā-balang, I quote here the exact words of Mr. Cobden Ramsay. "The Baitaraṇī rises among the hills in the south-west of Keonjhar State, and forms during part of its course the boundary between this State and the State of Maurbhanj......The Brāhmaṇi is formed by the confluence of the South Koel and Sank at Pānposh in the Nāgrā Zemindary of the Gāngpur State; after a course which is un-navigable owing to extensive rock-barriers,

and rapids of about 14 miles through the Gāngpur State, it enters the State of Bonāi and after a course of some 38 miles in that State, flows for a short distance through the Bāmrā State and then entering the State of Talcher passes through it and Dhenkānāl into Cuttack District. The Burā-balang rises in Mayurbhanj and after receiving two tributaries the Gangā-har and the Sūnai passes into Balasore".

The river system of the District of Puri, very complex in nature, is no doubt worth noting to ascertain the geographical situation of some ancient towns of historical importance, but I only recommend to the inquiring readers the graphic description of this river system as occurs in the District Gazetteer of Puri, edited by Mr. O'Mally of the Bengal Civil Service. I only mention that the principal river which traverses the District, is an arm of the Mahānadi, thrown out by the Katjori branch of the river, and bears the name Kuā Khāi, which is but a slightly altered form of the real name Kayyakkai; *Kayya* means deep, and *Kkai*, means hand or arm, in the Tamil speech, which was the language of the rulers of Orissa even so late as the thirteenth century A. D. The thirteenth cen-

tury Tamil Inscpriptions of the Ganga Rajas, as will be noticed later on, will clear up this hitherto unnoticed curious situation.

Chapter II

KALINGA AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE HIGHLANDS OF ORISSA

Now we all know that the ancient mighty kingdom of Kalinga extended along the Bay of Bengal, from the mouth of the Godavary to the south-western border of the old Sumha country, a portion of which is now comprised in the Tamluk sub-division of the district of Midnāpur. That only the sea-board tracts constituted the whole of the Kalinga Empire, and the hilly regions of Ganjam and Orissa lay out-side the Kalinga country, should never be lost sight of.

Ganjam—We may first notice, that the Eastern Ghats traverse the district of Ganjam from north to south, and are nowhere more than fifty miles from the sea. The portion of the district lying along the coast of the Bay of Bengal with the

background of the Eastern-ghats, differs from the rest of the district in the north and in the west, both in physical aspect and ethnic character. The hilly outskirts of the Oriya Feudatory States of Kālāhāṇḍi, Pātnā, Baud, Daspallā and Nayāgarh form almost in a semi-circle, the northern limit of the hilly and wild tract of Ganjam which is the abode of the Khand people, who have always been watchful in maintaining their tribal integrity.

We have then to take note of the fact, that the high lands of Orissa to the west of the districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore, as are now mainly occupied by a pretty large number of Feudatory States, lay altogether outside the Kalinga Empire. No doubt, this geography becomes pretty clear, from the Kalinga inscriptions of Aśoka, * but in view of its importance the question must be discussed with a few details.

* The Edict of Aśoka, which has now obtained the name "the Borderer's Edict", is in support of the proposition that the barbarian Oḍras and Utkalas dwelt beyond the western boundary of the Kalinga territory. See Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, page 168—The paragraph relating to Kalinga Edicts and a footnote thereto.

In collecting information on the subject from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, we notice that we do not get a well-defined country bearing the name Utkala, though the name of this country has nowhere been confounded with that of Kalinga. In the Bhīṣma-Parvan, for instance (IX. 348), the Utkalas have been mentioned as a rude people, and nothing has been stated regarding their owning any country in an organized form. In olden times Vanga was connected with Anga on one side, and with Kalinga on the other; the Angas, the Vangas, and the Kalingas are found constantly linked together in the Mahābhārata, as people closely allied by race and position. For instance, the readers may refer to such passages in the Mahābhārata, as occur in the Droṇa Parvan, Chapter LXX. In the Purāṇas also, the Utkalas have been distinctly mentioned as a rude tribe of very early origin, having no affinity with the races around them (*vide* Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Canto-LVII; Hari-

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How the wild tribes dwelling on the borders of the Kalinga Empire have to be treated, has been given in the Kalinga Inscriptions; these inscriptions were added as suplementary inscriptions to the main inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli.

vaṃśa X. 631-32). It is very important to note again, that in the Purāṇas the Utkalas have been once mentioned in the east, near about the Bay of Bengal, and next in the west in connexion with the wild tribes of the Mekhala range of hills of the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in the Central Provinces.

We may notice, that the north-western limit of the land of the Utkala people is not far off from the district of Gaya, for the Feudatory State of Sirguja only intervenes between the district of Gaya and the Feudatory State of Gāngpur. This perhaps explains how the Utkalas and the Gayas have been spoken of in some Purāṇas as closely allied tribes.

It also becomes easy to understand, how it was easy for Tapusa and Bhallika of the Ukkala country to have reached Gaya with their merchandise in the days of Gotama Buddha.*

Forgetting the fact that Ukkala was not identical with Kalinga in those days, and not knowing that the western limit of Ukkala was not far removed from Gaya, many wrong inferences

* Tasmin samaye Tapassu-Bhalliku nāmā dve Vanijā pañcahi sakaṭa satehi Ukkala janapadā Majjhima desam gacchanta, etc. (Fausboll's Jātakas, Vol. 1, p. 80).

have been made regarding the trade relation of the sea-board tract of Orissa with the Magadha country in the days of Gotama Buddha.

The northern boundary line of modern Orissa, as I have given above, as extending from the Bay of Bengal to the border of the Central Provinces, nearly agrees with the Paurāṇic description. As to the depth of this Utkala country, we do not get anything very definite in the Purāṇas. The description in the Purāṇas, that the river Baitaraṇi flows right through the Kalinga country, points to the fact, that the district of Balasore was in the Kalinga country. It is also indefinitely indicated by this description, that the Baitaraṇi in the high lands formed almost the southern boundary of the Utkala land (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna, Chapter 57) and that the whole of the Utkala country consisted of a narrow strip of land, extending through the native states of Nilgiri, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar to the western limit of Gāngpur. This geography also appears to be certain from some other facts, which I now narrate very briefly.

It is significant to note that the Utkala country demarcated above, has been the principal

home of the Bhuiāns since a very remote past, and the Bhuiāns still exercise much influence all over the tract (*vide* my paper on the Bhuiāns, incorporated in Russel's Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces). It is of the greatest importance to note, that the Ukkalas, that is the people of Utkala, *have been* Bhuiāns since the time of Gotama Buddha, for to illustrate the unreasonableness of the barbarous people, the Bhaiñyāñs of Ukkala Bassa have been mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya.

Maṇy epigraphic records of Chattisgarh as well as of the Sambalpur tract, disclose to us that the district of Sambalpur with its Feudatory States, formed in ancient time a part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, and the hilly country lying between Kalinga and Dakṣiṇa Kośala was the Oḍra land, while Utkala as a separate country to the north of Oḍra, has been clearly recognized in all old records. To fix the limits of the Oḍra country with some definiteness, we have also to mention this fact on the authority of the epigraphic records (*e.g.* Jājalla Deva's inscriptions of the twelfth cetury A.D.), that the native states of Daspallā and Baud, lying to the east of the Tel river, were within the Andhra count

that the river Tel lay just on the western border of the Andhra Deśa, is what we get also in the Jātaka stories as recently noticed by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. These facts lead us to infer with some degree of certainty, that the high lands of Orissa, extending from the southern limits of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj to the left bank of the river Mahānadi, constituted the land of the Oḍras. We learn also from the Tirumālāi inscriptions edited by the late Mr. Venkayya, that the hero of the inscriptions after conquering Trikalinga, had to pass through the Oḍra land, which was difficult of access, to reach the Kośala country or the Sambalpur tract.

That the people of old Kalinga despised the people of Utkala as barbarians, can be gathered from a fact which is by itself of great historical value. The mighty people of Kalinga had established an empire in Burma, long before the Emperor Aśoka led his victorious soldiers into Kalinga. The new Kalinga Raṭṭa in Burma was given the designation Muḍu Kalinga, by adapting the very name which the Kalinga Empire bore in India; a hilly tract of land ing to the west of Muḍu Kalinga in Further India, was given the name Ukkala or rather

Utkala to signify the rude character of that land.*

We thus clearly see that the Kalinga Empire of old lay wholly outside Utkala and Oḍra, and the people of Kalinga had no manner of connection with the people of the rude highland tracts.

The words Oḍra and Ukkala (now reduced to Utkala) are doubtless of Dravidian origin. Oḍra in old Dravidian means those who run away, from the root oḍu, to run; compare the modern Canarese term Oḍisu, which means, as Caldwell says, to cause to run away; Oḍu should not be confounded with Odu, to read.. Again, the word Okkala (more properly Okkalan) means, even in modern Tamil, a cultivator of the soil (compare the feminine form Okkalati, a farmer's wife). That the Okkalas, or the Ukkala Bhuiāns have been agricultural people from remote past, is a fact of significance. The fact that the Ukkalas remained outside the Kalinga Empire has become pretty clear; the Oḍras also must have been away from the Kalinga people, as they were *run-away people*.

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* *Vide* Researches on Ptolemy's Geography by Col., Gerini., p. 73. Gerini states (pages 119-139) that Hindus overthrew the Dravidian rule in Further India by about 644 B. C.

I should remind the readers here, that the ancient Dravidian speeches, as Caldwell has shown, were closely allied, and the Tamil speech is now nearest to the old-time Dravidian langu-

We have met with the expression Muḍu Kalinga, as the name of the Kalinga Empire. The word Muḍu in Telugu means three. Now we all know, that with the upper, the middle, and the lower regions of the Empire, corresponding respectively to the districts of Godavary-cum-Ganjam, Puri-cum-Cuttuck, and Balasore, the whole of Kalinga Raṭṭa got the name Trikalinga; even in Pliny's time the name was Muḍu Kalinga and not Trikalinga; Pliny spells the name of the country as Moḍo Galingam. By quoting his reference from Pliny, General Cunningham gives the name of Northern-Kalinga as Gangaridae Calingae and of Southern-Kalinga as Macco-Calinga. It is interesting that Mukalingam is still the name of a ruined town in the Ganjam District, and this town acquired this name having once become the capital of the Kalinga country in the South. Trikalinga is undoubtedly the translation of Muḍu Kalinga. The people of Trikalinga came to be called in

the Aryan language the Trikalingas or the Telingas, or the Telegu people. It is absurd to contend that the term Trikalinga owes its origin to three *Linga* temples, existing in different parts of the old Kalinga country. The absurdity of the proposition will be clear from the fact that Kalinga as the name of a people, allied to the Angas, and the Bangas had been in existence long before a Phallus as a deity could be thought of by the Aryans ; the two syllables 'li' and 'nga' are inseparable parts of the word Kalinga and they cannot signify a Phallus symbol in the word. The word Kalinga was compounded with *tri*, and not that, from the word Trilinga, the term Kalinga was formed. It may also be noted that in latetime Sanskrit, Trikalinga was reduced to Tailanga and not Tailinga ; the word linga was never in view in olden days, and the name Trikalinga is later than Kalinga in date.

It is said (vide District Gazetteer Puri, page 24 and 25) that the disintegration of the Trikalinga Empire commenced in the second century, A. D., when some new Andhra rulers established their sway over the middle and the lower Kalinga. As the Telugu people of the present day describe themselves as the Andhra people, the new

rulers of the 2nd century A. D., cannot be considered to have been alien to the Kalingas.

The racial unity of the Kalingas with the Andhras of *Paithana*, may also be conjectured from the term *Aira* which occurs in the tradition of both the peoples. It is now well known that some Andhra rulers have called themselves Airas in some of their inscriptions ; again in the Hatigumpha inscription of the second century B. C., we find Karavela, written according to northern pronunciation Kharvela, to have described himself as an *Aira*. It may be recorded here that the name Karavela of the old Dravidian language, of which Tamil is the fairest representative, means *a person armed with a spear*; it is a fitting name for a ruling prince.

There was a revolution in the second century A. D., but *we do not know* if at the time of the then dynastic changes, any portion of Utkala and Oḍra was politically linked with the sea-board tract of Orissa. Probabilities are that Orissa did not come under the direct sway of the Telegus, when the Oḍras and the Utkalas were continuing to lead a rude life, for though many place names of the country are Dravidian in origin, the peoples of the barbarian speeches are not found to have

adopted a Dravidian tongue. We notice in this connection that with the exception of Orissa and those districts of Western India and the Deccan in which Marathi is spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India, has one form or another of the Dravidian language.

The description of the victorious campaign of Raghu in the 4th Canto of the Raghu Vamśa by Kalidasa, makes it almost certain that even in the 5th century A.D. the Utkalas continued to be as rude as before, and had no organised government of their own, since the soldiers of Raghu had no need to conquer the country of the Utkalas, and the Utkalas only showed the soldiers their way to Kalinga. In the 7th century A.D. however, the political situation of the country was considerably changed. Some epigraphic records of the districts of Puri and Ganjam, inform us that the district of Puri obtained then the name Kongada, and Śaśānka alias Narendra Gupta of Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal, became the overlord of that district. The changes with which Huen Tsiang makes us familiar, should be duly noted here, for we find, that when the Chinese traveller visited Orissa and Ganjam, the rude people of Utkala and Odra had freely

flowed into the sea-board tract of Orissa, and the people of Kalinga speaking a Dravidian speech were limited within the confines of the country which has got the designation Andhra Deśa to-day.

After visiting Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa, Huen Tsiang proceeded to "Ucha" or Utkala." His description makes it certain, that the northern boundary of "Ucha" was conterminous with the southern limits of Karṇasuvarṇa and Tāmralipti. Regarding the people of "Ucha," Huen Tsiang says, they are "uncivilized, tall of stature and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language differ from the speech of Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred Sanghārāms with 10,000 priests. They all study the great Vehicle." This description shows that these uncivilized people are not those who were the dwellers of ancient Kalinga; the high class people of Kalinga seem to have entirely disappeared from the land. The language of mid-India or Magadha, prevailed then all over Bengal, but just crossing the frontier of Karṇasuvarṇa and Tāmralipti, the

Chinese traveller found the people of "Ucha" (who were mostly Bauddhas) to have been speaking a different tongue altogether.

The description of "Kongada" country by this traveller is highly interesting, as it discloses many facts of considerable significance. This land which is described as "bordering on a bay with rocky background to the west, contained a population wholly similar to the people of "Ucha" in their general ethnic character. Though the people of "Ucha" were Buddhists and the people of Kongada were heretics, the Buddhist traveller ungrudgingly remarks, that unlike the Buddhistic people of Utkala, or Ucha, the people of Kongada shook off much of their rudeness and became rather polite and honest. It has been said, that in the Kongada country, the script of Northern India was introduced, though the people pronounced the Aryan words differently. We have to attribute it to the influence of the rulers of Karṇasuvarṇa, that the script of Northern India was introduced in the district of Puri or Kongada, in the seventh century A. D. We notice that the Māgadhi speech as prevailed in Bengal, was also struggling to take root in the district of Puri, while the Utkala country though situated

closer to Bengal, or rather on the frontier of Bengal, did not adopt either the speech or the script of Northern India. We also learn from the account of Huen Tsiang, that the people of Kalinga in the Ganjam district, had their own Dravidian tongue, and were different from the people of Orissa in every respect. This clearly demonstrates that neither the script nor the language of the inscriptions of the third, as well as of the second century B. C., came to be operative either in Upper Kalinga or in any part of Orissa. We see how unsafe it is to make any inference regarding the language of a province with reference to the language of the inscriptions which the Emperor Aśoka published in that province. I may add in passing, that Kongada is a contraction of Kongu-nadu, and the word Kongu signifies in Tamil a country which is crooked in its geographical configuration. Huen Tsiang's description of Kongada is in keeping with the meaning of the name Kongu as the name of a country of irregular shape; we get a Kongu land situated in the western part of Southern India, in the history of the Tamilkam country; this last named fact is mentioned here to explain the place name Kongada.

It is a fact that no section of the Dravidians had any script of its own to the end of the sixth century A. D.*

If then, in any province inhabited by the Dravidians, the recording of any fact was entrusted in ancient time to the religious teachers of Northern India, and the record in consequence thereof appeared in the language of the writers, the Dravidians of those days cannot be said to have then adopted that language.

The earliest reference we get of the adoption of a corrupt form of the Māgadhi speech by the Oḍras, as well as by their close neighbours, the Śabaras, is in the Nāṭya-śāstra, which is fathered upon Bharata Muni. It is uncertain as to when this book was composed. Reference to it by other authors makes it tolerably certain that the book is not later in date than the sixth century A.D.; to place it again beyond the upper

* All epigraphists admit that the Battaluttu alphabet of the Tamil people cannot be proved to have been introduced-earlier than the 7th century A. D.; the Grantha character is known to have been introduced in the tenth century A. D.—Reference by Huen Tsiang in the seventh century A. D. of a special script of the people of Vengi is the earliest reference to a Dravidian script.

limit of the third century is rather difficult. It has been stated in the 17th Chapter of this work, that when the barbarians, including the Oḍras and the S'abaras, have to be represented on the stage, they should be made to speak what has been technically called in the book as vibhāṣā (vide ślokas 44, 47, etc). The term vibhāṣā has not been properly defined; there has been a thorough examination of the term by Sir George Grierson in J.R.A.S., 1918 (pp. 489—517), but its import remains still doubtful. I cannot enter here into any discussion on the point, but I may state without any fear of contradiction, that the dramatic characters in ancient time were not required to speak different tongues on the stage, but had only to corrupt or modify the pronunciation of the standard Prākṛta words, now here and now there, with some noted provincial or tribal peculiarities, just to suggest the class to which the characters belonged. It is therefore impossible to ascertain what was the real nature of the vibhāṣā of a particular tribe.

It is, however very important and interesting that the Oḍras appear in the Nātyā-śāstra, in the company of the S'abaras and other rude forest tribes.

It may be gathered from the statement of various authorities, cited by Sir George Grierson in his learned paper referred to above, that many people of various non-Aryan speeches accepted some Aryan words in their language and pronounced those words with their tribal peculiarities. One section of the Draviḍas, we are informed, naturalized a good number of Aryan words, and thereby made that particular Dravidian speech very sweet. This example strongly reminds us of the Andhra speech of to-day. We see that the S'abaras were known as charcoal burners; it is easy to imagine by looking to similar instances at the present time, that when the S'abaras came to the market of the Aryans, they had to use some Aryan words, and that their pronunciation of those words was marked by their tribal peculiarity. I may note in passing that some S'abaras of Orissa still sell charcoal, in the markets of the Oryas. Is is highly probable, that the Oḍras of the days of the Nātya-śāstra used only a number of loan words of Aryan stock, and the Aryans met them mostly in market-places. We are thus led to the conclusion, that Oriya as a Māgadhi speech was not introduced in Orissa even so late as the seventh or

the eighth century A.D.; but we may also hold that by making themselves familiar with the Māgadhi speeches, the people or the peoples of Orissa paved then the way for the introduction of a full-bodied Māgadhi speech.

We have demarcated in this chapter the old Kalinga Empire, as well as those tracts of country, which have come to-day in the composition of Orissa. Nothing very definite has been spoken, however, of the Sambalpur tract, for it requires an independent treatment in a separate chapter. Before proceeding to deal with the Sambalpur tract those facts relating to the Kalinga Empire as have direct bearing upon the History of Orissa, will have to be narrated.

Chapter III

THE KALINGA EMPIRE AND ITS DISSOLUTION

The mythical account we get in the Mahābhārata, as well as in the Purāṇas, about the origin of the Angas, the Bangas, the Puṇḍras, the Sumhas and the Kalingas, purports to declare

that these peoples belonged to one ethnic group of the Dravidians. Modern ethnological research supports and confirms this view. I refer the readers to my elaborate discussion on the subject in my History of the Bengali Language. The people or peoples above referred to were Dravidians no doubt, but there is evidence that they all attained a high degree of civilization long before the Mauryan times. It was the prosperity of the Kalinga Empire, which attracted Emperor Aśoka and his fore-fathers to lead their victorious campaign into that country. There are strong reasons to suppose that Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, who is called Nandendu in the "Vayu Purāṇa, either once conquered or attempted to conquer this flourishing country on the East coast. The inscriptions of Aśoka bear evidence of the lost glory of the Kalinga people of old. Our boys learn to-day in their elementary school books, that frequent sea-voyages were made by the people, to distant islands to the east, and that on this account, the people of India are known to-day in those islands by the name "Kling" or "Kalinga". It is, however, not known to many that after reaching Further-India

by sea, the Kalingas established an Empire in Burma perhaps many hundred years before the rise of Buddhism. From the mention of the Brāhmaṇs and of the Kṣatriyas in the inscriptions of Aśoka, some have been led to suppose that the eminence of the Kalinga country in the 3rd century B. C. was wholly due to Aryan influence. We have to patch together several facts relating to the early history of the country to see how far we may be justified in making such an inference.

We are not sure of the date of the "Dharma-Sūtras," but I think that the scholars are not far wrong in assigning to the earliest "Dharma-Sūttra" a date which does not go beyond the limit of the 6th century B. C.. Bengal has been most grudgingly included in the Āryāvarta, in the Dharma-Sūttras of Baudhāyana and Vaśiṣṭa : it is the Kālaka-vana, which in the opinion of the authors of the Dharma-Sūttras, formed the eastern limit of the holy land. A ban was laid upon the Aryans who would even visit the lands of the Vangas and the Kalingas. The very ban indicates that the Aryans had commenced to migrate to the land of the Kalingas before the Dharma-Sūttras were composed; and it is also

clear from a verse of Baudhāyana (Pr. 1, 2,-13) that on the border lands of Anga, Magadha, Saurāstra etc, the Aryans were mixed up with the Non-Aryans. There is no mention, however, of this sort of mixture in Vanga and Kalinga. The Aryans in all probability did not regularly settle down by that time, but the prohibitive orders indicate that the Aryans were slowly pouring into Kalinga. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the Aryans travelled to Kalinga because that country offered prospects of a happier life to them? When was it that the ban was withdrawn in consequence of a free influx of Aryan people, cannot be accurately ascertained, but it is likely that this was done when a good road from Kalinga to Magadha was opened by Aśoka after his annexation of Kalinga. If it really happened that the Brāhmaṇs and the Kṣatriyas of Northern-India settled permanently in Kalinga, I am inclined to hold that the Aryans or the Aryanised people who settled permanently in Kalinga in early times forgot the use of their own speech in course of time, for there is distinct evidence that in the 7th century A. D. no form of Northern Indian speech was current either in Kalinga proper in the South, or in

Orissa. The Kalingas who manufactured fine cloths, quarried diamonds, and are known to have formulated a good system of medical treatment previous to Emperor Aśoka's inroad into their country, spoke no doubt an early form of the Dravidian speech, for their settlements in Burma bear only some Dravidian names, and their Empire in India as well as in Burma was designated Muḍu-Kalinga. From the fact that a hilly and wild tract in the neighbourhood of their new Muḍu-Kalinga in Burma obtained the designation "Utkal," it becomes pretty clear that far from mixing with the "Utkalas" in India, the Kalingas treated their neighbouring highlanders with great contempt.

It has been brought to light by some scholars that the Aryans of Northern India established their colony in Further India in the 7th century B. C., by driving away the Dravidians who were the earlier settlers in that land. Regarding the Hindu adventurers in Further India in early times, Colonel Gerini remarks in his Researches in Ptolemy's Geography, "We find Indu (Hindu) dynasties established by adventurers claiming descent from the Kṣatriya potentates of Northern India ruling in Upper Burma, in Siam and Laos, in

Yunnan and Tonkin and even in most parts of South-Eastern China. From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin Gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by the scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pali language in official documents and inscriptions, building temples and other monuments after the Indu (Hindu) style, and employing Brahman priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the court and the State. The presence of this Indu (Hindu) element and its influence upon the development of Chinese civilization at a far earlier period than has hitherto been known or even suspected, commands attention, and can henceforth be hardly over-looked by Sinologists." (Page 122).

The Dravidians whose ancestors were earlier in Burma may with reference to this word of praise regarding the Hindus, very fitly express their feelings by adopting a line of Robert Browning in a different sense, that why should all the giving prove his alone ?

I have accepted the date 7th century B. C., on the authority of Colonel Gerini. Anyhow it was a long time before the nativity of Buddha,

at a time when the Aryans very likely had no information about the Kalinga people, that the latter made sea-voyages to distant lands and established their supremacy in foreign countries. The Jaina ascetics established a settlement in the middle Kalinga mostly in cave dwellings in the hills of "Khaṇḍagiri" and "Udaygiri," but it is difficult to say if this was done prior to Aśokā's annexation of Kalinga to Magadha. These Jaina preachers no doubt, used their own language among themselves, and may be that a few local disciples of theirs learnt the language of Mid-India for their spiritual benefit.

The inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa should not lead us to form wrong notions regarding the ancient language of Kalinga. We get very positive evidence of the fact from the documents of Hiuen Tsiang, that the people of the country had no manner of knowledge of the language of Northern-India, in the 7th century A. D. May be, that it was expected that the people would be curious about the inscriptions and would learn the language of the civilised country in their attempt to interpret the inscriptions. Moreover at this time the Dravidians had

no script of their own, as has already been noticed. The inscriptions were, I think, intended more for the teachers themselves than for the passers-by who in those days did not much care for education through books.

How long Kalinga acknowledged the overlordship of the Emperors of Pāṭaliputra has not been ascertained; we do not also know how Kalinga fared after the heavy loss it sustained in the death of some million of men during its great struggle against the mighty horde of Aśoka's army. We find however, the country in its full vigour and prosperity, just a century later when the Maurya rulers became too feeble to maintain their situation of power and dignity. Hathigumphā rock inscriptions at Khaṇḍagiri inform us that Khāravel or more properly Kharavel, the king of Kalinga raided the Magadha country in the 2nd century B. C., and made the weak lord of the then tottering Maurya Empire to sue for peace. These inscriptions are of great historical importance, and as such we should consider carefully the facts disclosed by them. A careful examination of the inscriptions is relegated to an appendix to this chapter.

There is some political interest attached to the question as to where the principal capital town of the Kalinga Empire was located. The fact that the Emperor Aśoka had to proceed beyond Jaugaḍa to complete his victory, argues very strongly in favour of the supposition that the capital of the country was situate somewhere in the district of Ganjam. When the country was annexed to Magadha, Tosāli was very likely made the seat of the Governor; it is now only conjectured that this town was in the middle Kalinga not far away from both Dhauli and Khaṇḍagiri. As the capital Kalinganagara of Khāravel and his predecessors was once washed off by the sea, we cannot but infer that it was on the sea-shore.

I am strongly inclined to think that the modern Kalinganagar on the sea-shore in the district of Ganjam, is not far off from where the old capital stood. The town Mukhalingam in Ganjam, which contains archaeological remains of old times, is an inland town, and does not answer the physical description of the ancient capital. The name Mukhalingam however, is interesting, for it retains the name of the Upper Kalinga itself which was Moccalingam, as Pliny

informs us. It has perhaps to be admitted that Aśoka would not have proceeded to Jaugaḍa if the main capital of Kalinga was not somewhere in the district of Ganjam. The description of the town as occurs in the Raghu Vamśa, by Kalidās, points out clearly that in the 5th century A. D. Kalinganagara was by the sea-coast in the Andhra country. In the 5th verse of the 6th canto of the Raghu-Vamśa, the lord of Kalinga has been described as the lord of the sea as well as of the Mahendragiri of the Eastern-ghats. In the 56th verse this charming prospect has been held out to Indumati, that becoming the queen of the lord of Kalinga, she could enjoy the delight of having the full view of the roaring sea, through the window of her apartment in the palace. I quote the verses 54 and 56 here :

Asāu Mahendrādri samāna-sāraḥ
Patir-Mahendrasya mahodadheśca.
Yasya kṣarat-sāinya Gajacchalena
Yātrāsu Yātīva puro Mahendraḥ. (VI. 54.)
Yamātmanah sadmani sannikṛṣṭaḥ
Mandra-dhvani-tyājita-yāma-tūryaḥ
Prāsāda-vātāyana-dṛśya-vīciḥ
Pravodhayatyarnava eva suptam. (VI. 56).

We get a glimpse of the fact that the Kalinga country which was rich, extensive, and populous in the 3rd century B. C. and even earlier, continued to maintain its integrity and independence, nearly to the end of the 5th century A. D. The Utkalas, who were guides to Raghu's soldiers when the latter marched through the rude country of the former, had no interest in the Kalinga country all throughout this period.

It must be noted next that one and the same ruling house did not preside over the destinies of Trikalinga (called Tailanga by Kalidāsa). The name Tailanga as derived from Trikalinga indicates, as I have mentioned before, that the people of the country were mainly Telegu-speaking. The Telengas of to-day designate their language as Andhra speech, and call their country Andhra Deśa. It is now a widely known historical fact that the Andhra rulers became very powerful in the Deccan at the time of Chandragupta Maurya; we learn in Khāravel's account that a Sātakarṇi that is to say, one Andhra ruler was a contemporary of Khāravel. We have also reasons to believe, that the Andhras acquired supremacy in Northern India from the middle of the 1st century A. D.

to the middle of the 3rd century A. D. The orthodox authors of the Purāṇas would not have recorded that the Andhras became emperors of Magadha, if really the Dravidian Andhras did not become supreme in Northern India. Such very old Tamil works as the *Manimekhalai* and the *Silappathikaram* mention the Andhra Sātakarṇis as the rulers of Magadha. Want of evidence from epigraphic records should not be held sufficient to decide the question otherwise. Though very likely speaking the same speech,the Andhras who became powerful throughout India, were not politically united with the Andhras of the Kalinga Empire. It appears from the records of the Andhras, who had their head-quarters at Vengi at a comparatively recent time, that they either annexed the Kalinga country to their empire in the 3rd century A. D., or for sometime made the lords of Kalinga their vassals. It is conjectured by some, that a new line of Andhra rulers was established at this time, and these rulers in a short time made the country as independent as before. It is certain however beyond any doubt, that the disintegration of the Kalinga empire commenced soon afterwards; the description which Hiuen Tsiang

gives of Kalinga, as will be cited presently, speaks unmistakably of the total ruin of the empire in the 7th century A. D. This must have been due to some dynastic revolutions of considerable consequence.

The dynastic revolutions through which Southern India passed from the 6th century onwards cannot even very briefly be narrated here. The rise of the Chālukya power, the domination of Southern India by the Cholas, and the consequent displacement of many ruling houses, are facts which all students of Indian history should carefully study in other works. For an acquaintance with this history in its general outline, the readers should do well to follow the accounts epitomised by Vincent Smith in his "Early History of India." The history of Kalinga, nay even the history of the whole of Orissa is very much connected with the history of the aggressive movements of the kings of the Chola-Chālukya line, and their successors. I shall only refer to those movements of theirs which affected Kalinga and Orissa, without speaking any thing regarding the origin of these ruling dynasties.

It has been mentioned before, that by about the end of the 2nd century A. D., or at the commencement of the 3rd century A. D., a new line of Andhra rulers came into power in Kalinga. This change could not have affected the people of the country very perceptibly, since the new rulers and their followers were alike to the people of Kalinga in race and habits.

In those days, the sea-board tract of Orissa continued as before to form a part of the Kalinga Empire, and it must be distinctly remembered that this tract did not and could not acquire at that time the name Orissa for it. I put a stress upon this fact, as the occurence of the name Oṭisa in the Thibetan Chronicles in connection with an incident of this time, has been highly misleading to many. The tradition that has been preserved in the Thibetan Chronicles was recorded at a comparatively recent time, when Orissa as a country was fully organized; it is in consequence of this, a confusion was made in the Chronicles, regarding the name of the country. The tradition here referred to, is, that Nāgārjuna converted one Andhra King of Oṭisa, which is an equivalent of Oḍiśā or Orissa. I have already shown that in the days of the poet

Kalidāsa, that is to say even in the 5th century A. D., Orissa did not come into existence as a country.

Then again, in the epigraphic records of the Imperial Guptas some petty Rajas of the wild tracts of the Central Provinces near about Bilaspur, have been mentioned, and the country of the Sumhas, to the north of Orissa is also met with; but the mention of Oḍissā as a country governed by any Raja, does not find any place in these records. It should also be mentioned that even when Orissa as a country was being formed under the rules of Janamejaya and his successors, the rulers called themselves Trikalingādhipati and not lords of Orissa.

We have stated already, relying upon the evidence of Hiuen Tsiang, how Utkala and Oḍra fared in the 7th century A. D., when the Kalinga rulers lost their hold upon the eastern districts of Orissa. Nothing short of a serious revolution entailing grave consequences must have happened to bring about the changes with which Hiuen Tsiang makes us familiar. A period of at least one century and a half must be granted to accommodate the changes we have been noticing. The Budhist and the Jaina preachers, who

moved about the highlands of Orissa to soften the hearts of the wild tribes, must have inspired them with such new ideas of life, as make men restless everywhere. Rudeness of the tribes living in the neighbourhood of a civilized country, is no doubt to be apprehensive of: but disorganised rudeness cannot always become a source of great trouble. When hearts are partly humanised, concerted organised action becomes possible with the people. Though we have no history for it, we may infer from what has been described by Hiuen Tsiang that the Utkalas and the Oḍras freely flowed into the sea-board tracts of Orissa at the complete disintegration of the kingdom of Kalinga. Perhaps new troubles occasioned by the rise of many dynasties in the South, made the Kalinga people to pay a very engaging attention to the work of defence near the southern boundary of their Empire. Very mighty rulers made at about this time, the territory between the Goḍavary and the Krisṇā the principal theatre of their action. The rude hordes of the Utkalas and the Oḍras embraced very likely this fitting opportunity to break through the western barrier of the lower and the middle Kalinga.

There is a tradition that the holy land of Orissa came into the possession of the Mlechhas, previous to the time of the so-called Keśari Rajas. Sir W. W. Hunter mentions it in his History of Orissa, and informs us that this tradition has been chronicled in the "Mādlā, Pānji" or the "Temple records." For the word "Mlechha," "Yavana" also occurs in the aforesaid record as Mlechha and "Yavana" have been convertible terms since long. In our old literature such as the Kāma Sutra, Daśakumār Charita and so forth, the śavaras and other aboriginal tribes have been designated as "Mlechhas." The word "Mlechha-Bhāṣita" occurs in many books to signify a "Jibberish." It is not unlikely that the invasion of the sea-board tracts by the Utkalas, and the Oḍras is alluded to in the tradition.

The advanced sections of the Utkalas and the Oḍras have been wholly Hinduised now, and may rightly claim some blood of the Northerners. The Kalinga people who were artisans or who took to agriculture must have mixed their blood with the new imigrants, to improve the blood of the latter. We know that the Kalingas became very renowned as skilled artisans, and the cloth

of their weaving attained a special celebrity. The weavers of fine cloth in Orissa are rightly suspected to be of Dravidian origin.

Utkala as was newly constituted in the 7th century, in the lower Kalinga country acknowledged Maharaj Harśa Vardhan as her over-lord, when Hiuen Tsiang visited this country as well as Kongada and Kalinga. Kalinga was then limited within the very limits where Telegu is now the prevailing speech ; the Chinese traveller found the people speaking their Non-aryan tongue which he has very pithily described as "light and tripping." It was also noticed that at this time many barbarians of the hilly region became mixed up with the people. This is a state of things which could nowhere be avoided in India. As the upper-class Telegu people of Southern Ganjam and Vizagapatam, do not at all differ from the Oriya "Karaṇas," in general physical features, it may be presumed that neither the "Utkalas" nor the Oḍras, nor the barbarians of the Ganjam tract have mixed their blood either with the "Karaṇas," or with the upper-class Telegu-speaking people. The "Khaṇḍāits" of today have so much changed their blood, that they are now a different people

altogether, with fine features and high intellect-ual powers.

That the changes in the then crippled Kalinga were brought about owing to some serious disturbances caused by the barbarian hordes may be surmised from what Hiuen Tsiang has recorded. Hiuen Tsiang says it was then green in the memory of the people of the country, that they saw betterdays and had better fortunes. So heard the Chinese traveller: "In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population. Their shoulders rubbed one with the other and the axles of their chariot-wheels glided together, and when they raised their arm-sleeves, a perfect tent was formed. There was a Ṛṣi possessed of the five supernatural powers, who lived on a high precipice, cherishing his pure thoughts. Being put to shame because he had gradually lost his magic powers, he cursed the people with a wicked imprecation, and caused all dwelling in the country both young and old, to perish; *wise* and *ignorant alike died* and *the population disappeared. After many ages the country was gradually repeopled by emigrants, but yet it is not properly inhabited.* This is why at the present time there are so few who dwell here."

How out of a chaos a newly organised country evolved, will be narrated after giving some accounts of the Sambalpur tract. It is from this tract that the organisers of Orissa as a country came.

Appendix to Chapter III

A NOTE ON THE HATIGUMPHA INSCRIPTIONS OF KING KHARAVEL

The interest which attaches to the above Rock-inscriptions, is very great. This note however, is relegated to an appendix, for the meticulous consideration of some details relating to the text, is not likely to evoke general interest.

The inscriptions have been several times edited and re-edited to obtain a correct interpretation of the text, and what Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has done in this direction, has been the latest. All editors and interpreters of the record have given us many suggestions, regarding the portions of the text, which have terribly suffered on account of the influence of weather and time,

and as such cannot be read aright. These suggestions, however valuable they be, have to be rigorously left out in noting up definite historical facts. I am sorry I have been unable to accept several interpretations offered by such a learned scholar as Mr. Jayaswal, because of sentences translated and interpreted, a good portion remains wholly undeciphered, and consequently a satisfactory syntactical construction of the whole is almost impossible.

What is of great historical value is the date of the record. Mr. Jayaswal may be very correct as to what he has said relating to this date, but the importance of the question urges me to examine his statement by referring to the expressions occuring in the text, which have afforded Mr. Jayaswal the ground for his assertion.

To test the correctness of the interpretation of the scholar, we have first of all to note up all the idiomatic expressions relating to numerals, both cardinal and ordinal, as occur in the record, and regarding the interpretation of which all scholars agree. We may thus work up from the known to the unknown.

The following idiomatic expressions are quite legible in the record, and have not been

liable to more than one interpretation. They are :

Padhama—first, Dutiya—second, Tatiya—third, Tibasa—four, Chatubisati—24, Chabutha—fourth, Pamchama—fifth, Chaḍama—sixth, Satama—seventh, Aṭhama—eighth, Nava vasāni—nine years, Navama—nineth, Dasama—tenth, Vārasama—twelfth, Terasa—thirteen, Pandarasa—fifteen, Sata—100 (also "many" in the expression sata sahasa), and Sahasa—thousand.

How then, Panatīsāhi, as occurs in the 4th line may be interpreted as pancatrimśa, is not easy to see. It is not *pana* but *panca* which is the idiomatic expression for "five" in this record, and for fifteen we get *pamdarasa* ; Pana may mean "again" in the language of this record, or it may mean some other thing in connection with the subsequent letters with which *pana* is connected, but nothing warrants us in interpreting it as "five." To indicate 35, the correct expression is bound to be *pancatisa*, according to the idiom of the language of this record. Again, how pānatariyā of the 16th line becomes panca saptatyā, is a still more difficult point. We have shown that a satisfactory case has not been made

out for *pana* ; then again, in addition to *pana* we have been asked to accept pāna for "panca". Different expressions of this sort to indicate one and the same thing are not likely to occur in one and the same document. According to the idiom of the language disclosed by the record, *satama* is 7th, *satta* is 7, and sattati should be 70. To accept new forms unknown to the idiom for the interpretation of the doubtful portions of the record, is a very hard thing to do.

In a serious record like this, it is difficult to believe that different expressions could be used to indicate one and the same thing, even though it be conceded that various provincial expressions to signify one and the same thing might have been prevailing in the days of Kharavela. It must also be stated that it is for the interpreter to prove that many provincial expressions did actually prevail at the time.

We may now proceed to consider what those words of the 16th line are, and what they signify, which in the opinion of Mr. Jaysawal give the exact date of the record. That a large number of letters of this important line has not been satisfactorily deciphered, is what goes without saying; reading of some words may

still be regarded tentative, for Mr. Jayaswal has been forced to correct his own reading twice; for example, what was read at first as *Saṭhi vasa sate* has now been declared as incorrect, and for Chhe-yaṭhi we have been asked to read *Choyaṭhi*, in the line in question. My physical disability having been in my way, I asked Dr. R. C. Mazumdar to read the document for me. This capable scholar assures me that it is difficult to read *Choyaṭhi* at any part of the 16th line.

It is worth noting in this connection that when once we were asked to read some letters as constituting *Saṭhi vasa sate*, the learned editor did not give us *six thousand years* in the interpretation of the phrase; he explained it by *one hundred years and sixty*. He however insisted upon and still instists upon interpreting *Ti-basa-Sata* and *Terasa basa sata* quite differently, despite the fact that they are in the exact idiomatic form, in which *Saṭhi basa sata* is. It has already been remarked that it is far from correct to interpret one and the same idiomatic form differently in one and the same record.

We shall discuss presently the value of Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of the two phrases referred to above, after considering the correct-

ness of the form "Choyaṭhi", which has been translated by the editor as 64.

We have seen that *Chatur* is four, *Chatu bisati*, is twenty-four and chabutha signifies fourth in this document; Chabutha in the ordinal form could be reduced to Cha-u-tha (later time cha-u-ṭha) in the Prākrita of the second century B. C. or thereabout, but even that reduction is not a likely one to occur in this record. The reduction of *chabu* into *cho* however seems almost impossible in the document under consideration; moreover the form in question is not the form of the numeral four as a cardinal numeral. The language as disclosed by the inscriptions does not allow *choyaṭhi* to indicate 64; *chatu saṭhi* or *chatus saṭhi* could not but be the correct form. It has already been suggested, that *choyaṭhi*, as a form for 64 th (not insisted upon by the editor) is also untenable. In my opinion choyaṭhi to indicate 64, was not in use in any Prākṛta speech of the time; if the actual currency of the term could be proved by the editor, the difficulty would have been solved to some extent. It has rather been unfortunate that unfamiliar and unknown expressions have turned up exactly where a passage is admittedly doubtful.

Let us now direct our attention to *ti basa sata*, and *terasa basa sata.* That they are capable of being interpreted as 103 , and 113 respectively, has been admitted by the learned editor; the historical facts, with reference to which they have been interpreted differently may be put aside for the present, and the grammatical construction of the phrases may at first be taken up for discussion.

What has to be noticed at the outset is, that plurality in the number of years has been distinctly expressed in this document by plural number; for instance, the expression for nine years is nava basāni. If "many hundred" was sought to be conveyed, the use of mere "Sata" at the end of the phrase could not have sufficed very likely. Then again, we get actually *sahasa* in this document to indicate thousand; how is it then, to indicate 1000 and 13, the term for thousand has not been used, and a very vulgar form of expressing one thousand by so many hundreds, has been adopted in the record, the language of which is quite elegant? Moreover, looking to the idiom of the prākṛta speeches of the time, we may assert with some certainty, that to express for instance 300 years, the ex-

pression *ti sata basāni* shonld have been used, without allowing *basa* to come between *ti and sata.*

If terasa basa sata of the 11th line should signify 1300 years, we must accept what Mr. Jayaswal wants us to, that a very finely accurate recording of events continued in Kalinga for over thousand years, though it is doubtless that no record of the Kalinga people in writing has come to us, which is of a time prior to the 3rd century B. C. It has not been proved that the people of Kalinga maintained any literary record, even by borrowing the Aryan script, by about the time when Aśoka conquered the country.

Keta or Ketu of the 11th line is of doubtful signification, since letters preceding it and succeeding it have neither been satisfactorily deciphered nor related syntactically with it. Again, how the four letters namely ti-ta-ma-ra stand in the line in connection with other letters preceding and succeeding, has not been shown. It is therefore difficult to accept the expanded explanation offered in respect of them. To speak of some social or religious customs or of some historical facts on the basis of such letters yielding apparently no meaning, is not an easy

thing to do. I may merely say in this connection, that the less I speak of the time of the Epic War, the better for me, for I have no manner of idea regarding it.

Mr. Jayaswal has stated why *ti basa sata* has not been translated into 103 years; he says, that going 103 years back, he gets the time of Chandragupta, and not that of a *Nanda.* True it is that the word Nanda Rāja occurs in the record, but it cannot be said by referring to the Purānic mention of Chandragupta as *Nandendu*, that Chandragupta could not be alluded to by the term. We do not know what really the origin of Chandragupta was, but it is very certain that in the Brāhmanic record Chandragupta has been mentioned as a scion of the Nanda Vamśa; this is why the Vāyu-purāṇa calls him Nandendu. This Purānic statement may be very wrong, but we see very clearly that Chandra Gupta's origin from the Nanda Vamśa was once a matter of popular belief in this country.

Certainly there is no record that Chandra Gupta actually raided Kalinga, though the accounts of his military activities do not make the fact impossible; it must also be admitted,

that there is no record to prove that any Nanda-Rāja, who preceded Chandra Gupta did it. What is insisted upon is, that by Nanda Rāja, Chandra Gupta could easily be alluded to; despite the fact that Chandra Gupta became the founder of the Maurya line of kings, he and his successors could be called Nanda kings by the people, following the Brāhmanic tradition of the family, preserved in the Purānas. There will be nothing wrong to call our sovereigns Hanoverians, even though they may have a good English expression for their designation.

What the term Muriya in the text signifies, and in what syntactical construction it stands in the sentence with the preceding undeciphered words, has not been or rather could not be explained; it is therefore difficult to say, even though it may be true that the time of the Mauryas has been alluded to in the sentence, that the inscribed record has been dated in any year of the Maurya era. It shonld be remembered in this connection that the Kalinga Rajas, who shook off the Maurya over-lordship and had a grudge against the Mauryas for the havoc they had created in their country, could be least expected to be disposed to use the Maurya era to

date a document of theirs. Kharavel mentions with a pride, that he brought the Magadha kings on their knees before him ; it is not therefore possible that he gave currency to Maurya era in his kingdom to signify his vassalage.

The next point of interest is relating to the name Khāravela, which is Kharavela according to R. D. Banerjee's reading. The very form of the name (no matter we can explain or not, the meaning of a proper noun) loudly declares that it is of Dravidian origin. Mr. Jayaswal is not at all keen upon maintaining the interpretation he has given of the name, as signifying ocean. It is not only true, that such a word for ocean is unknown in our lexicon, but it is also true, that neither Khāra, (derived from Kṣāra) nor Vela, nor the form compounded of them can signify ocean ; the *velā-bhumi* or the bank of the ocean is not brackish, and even if it were so, ocean is not indicated by the compound. I have also to remind the readers that the word Kṣāra and its apabhramśa forms Khāra and Chāra are too inauspicious for a name to begin with. We cannot forget that the Raja does not include his country in the Bhāratbarṣa, and so d oes not care to claim an Aryan descent for himself.

Bishop Caldwell has given us good reasons to believe that the Dravidian speeches did not differ from one another in ancient times, so much as they do now; but it cannot be positively said, when provincial differentiation took place. The name Kharavel presents all the characteristics of the Tamil speech of to-day. In the Tamil language the letter *Ka* stands for Ka, Kha, Ga & Gha, or more properly Ka is the only letter of the Ka-varga, and it is sounded as Ga, when it is not an initial; again this letter Ka is articulated in such a manner, that to the ears of the northerners, it sounds like *Kka* or *Kha*. Karavel will sound like Khāravel in our ears. I could cite examples to show that many old Dravidian words of K initial, are written with Kha initial in Telegu, but Tamil perpetuates the old time phonetic peculiarity. It is not unlikely that the Jainas to whom the engraving of the inscriptions was entrusted, followed the sound of the name in inscribing it, for there was then no Dravidian script to represent the sound value of the letter. Moreover, as there was no distinction between Ka and Kha, the latter was more proper to use to represent the sound.

If the last component *vel* of the compound Kharavel is pronounced with "e" long, the whole name will mean a warrior armed with spear; this is certainly a fitting name for a king. If however, "e" of vel is pronounced short, the word will mean non-stretching of hand, which does not become suitable to signify the name of a man. Compare the line of the poet Au-vai-er —"E—Yeh vidu Kara-vel," which means "Do not extend your hand for begging."

A few words regarding the term *aira* may be added. The king says that he is of the Ceta-vamśa (not caitra) but does not mention that the term aira has any reference to his lineage. This term aira is known to have been used by one Andhra king in a similar fashion, and we do not know what the term really signifies. Like Mr. Jayaswal some Brāhmans of old time reduced the term to aila, when they wanted to take some people of Orissa as well as of the district of Gaya into the fold of Hindu society. It has been stated in the Purāṇas, that once Ilā assumed male form, and while roaming about the forest countries, became the forebear of the two sons, *viz.*, Utkala and Gaya. I need not remind the readers

that the Utkalas and the Gayas are aboriginal people.

The very story of the Purāṇas shows that a regular orthodox descent has not been suggested by the mythical account. It is significant that even to-day the Canarese people call the people of the Maratha country (which was once the land of the Andhras) as *Ailas*. This is what Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has informed me.

I have already remarked that in the 2nd century B. C., and even later, no other than the Northern Indian script could possibly be used in India. We learn from the Hathigumpha inscriptions, that king Khāravel learned both to read and write when he was a child. It is understood therefore, that he learned the Northern script and it may be supposed that he learned also the Māgadhi language from his Jaina or Buddhist teachers. It may also be reasonably presumed, that those of the common people who received education at this time in Kalinga, learned Māgadhi as a second language to inform themselves of the religious doctrines of Jainism or Buddhism. As Khāravel embraced the Jaina religion (or Buddhism, I do not know which), or rather was born

in a family which had Jainism for its faith, he might naturally be expected to use Māgadhi speech for his record. Moreover the king must have employed the Jainas to record the accounts of his life on the wall of a rock occupied by the Jainas; these persons to whom the work was entrusted could not but record the accounts in Māgadhi to make the whole thing expressive. I do not think that in those old days, the intelligibility of the document could otherwise be ensured.

As to this sort of use of foreign speech, another example may be adduced. There is unmistakable epigraphic evidence that artisans of various classes had been imported from Magadha into the Tamilakam country from time to time, before the Batteluttu alphabet was designed in imitation of the eastern Māgadhi script. It is therefore no wonder, that S´ivaskandavarman and the rich artisans of the Pahlava country used Māgadhi language and Māgadhi script in their inscriptions of the 6th century A. D.

Chapter IV

JHARKHANDA & THE SAMBALPUR TRACT

JHARKHANDA—Jhārkhaṇḍa was once the designation of an indefinitely extended wild tract of land, which lay to the south of Gaya, to the east of Shahabad, to the south of Bhagalpur, and to the west of Bankura and Midnapur. How far this Jhārkhaṇḍa extended to the south, cannot be ascertained with much definiteness. In a copper-plate grant of the 16th century A. D., by a Raja of Jaipur in Ganjam, the grantor describes himself as the chief of Jhārkhaṇḍa. This copper-plate is in the possession of the Thāt Raja of Kashipur (in Kalahandi); I had the opportunity of examining this document, when it was once exhibited by the Raja in a case in support of his claim regarding certain rights in the Kashipur Zemindary. The Rajas of the Native State of Baud prefer similar claim to the Jhārkhaṇḍa country, and even now describe themselves as the chiefs of the Jhārkhaṇḍa territory. The readers are here reminded that the State of Baud lies to the east or rather to the right bank of the river Tel, and this portion

of Orissa was considered once to be a part of the Andhra deśa. In the north again, the temple of Baidyanath at Deoghar in the Santal Parganas, is still considered to be situated in the Jhārkhaṇḍa tract; even now the priests of Baidyanath recite a *mantra* to indicate this geography. It may therefore be reasonably inferred that the whole tract I have described above, was once indefiinitely designated as Jhārkhaṇḍa, and the southern boundary of this Jhārkhaṇḍa was the northern or left bank of the eastern section of the Godavery. It may be noted in this connection that the later immigrants from the Oḍra country have given the name "Jhāruā" to the previously settled Hindu people of the Sambalpur tract. I must also notice, that according to the tradition of the Jainas, as recorded in the Ācāranga Sutta, the town of Baidyanath was once within the Lādha or Rāḍha, country. In the Brhamāṇḍa section of the Bhaviśya Purāṇa, the whole tract lying to the north of the Dārakeśvara river and extending along the Panch-Kote hills,* was called Rāḍha country; the temple of

* The name Panch-Kota is said to be due to the unascertained fact that five Kotas or garhs of five Rajas were once established in that part of the country; but some common

Baidyanath has been mentioned as existing in this tract.

The portion of Jhārkhaṇḍa to the north of the river Kāsāi, which is now comprised in the districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh, is regarded by the Aryan settlers to be a portion of the old Magadha country, and as such on ceremonial occasions they describe the tract in the *mantras* they utter, to be in the Magadha Deśa. The name Jhārkhaṇḍa for a country is now only retained in a manner by the Sambalpur tract, lying between 19° and 22° north latitude, and between 82°39′ and 85° east longitude.

It has to be noted here as a point of significance, that in the Allahabad Stone Inscriptions of Samudra Gupta, the upper valley of the Mahanadi, which is now included in the district of Raipur, and is conterminous with the district of Sambalpur, has been spoken of as Mahākāntāra under the rulership of a Vyaghra-Raja. The term Mahākāntāra signifies the wild character of the tract ; I am therefore inclined to think, that the tract thus indicated was regarded in the 4th

people of the locality told me that they designate the range of hills by the name Panch-Kod, as they think the range to consist of five *times* twenty (Kod) or hundred peaks.

century A. D. as a part of Jhārkhaṇḍa on the west. Very likely by the word Vyaghra-Raja a Gond ruler was meant, for one section of the Gonds does even to-day regard tiger as the emblem of royalty. I may also mention that the Gond element predominates in the population of this tract, and two ruling chiefs of the area are Gond by caste.

How the Sambalpur tract engulfed in the Jhārkhaṇḍa, and other outlying tracts of Utkala came to be united linguistically as well as in social manners and customs with the portions of the country described in the previous chapter, is a fit subject for enquiry in the history of Orissa. It has been stated that the Sambalpur tract became a part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, and was thus connected more with the Chhattisgarh Division in the Central Provinces than with the Garjat States of Orissa. The *Native* States of Gāngpur and Bonai were till the other day included in Chutia-Nagpur. How in spite of these conditions the unity in question was brought about, should be explained. We have to consider first the old political conditions of the Sambalpur tract as a preparatory step in this direction. To narrate the important political part which the

Sambalpur tract once played, the geographical situation of it on the ancient map of India, has to be carefully noted.

Hiuen Tsiang says in describing the old route from Kalinga to Kośala, that one had to pass through a wild country of hills and forests. He states that there stands a high mountain on the northern frontier of Kalinga, and proceeding from it north-west "through forests and mountains about 1,800 li, we come to the country of Kosala." He says moreover that the Southern frontier which is thus reached "consists of encircling mountain crags, and forests and jungles are found together in succession." We clearly see that the Chinese traveller in his journey from Ganjam to Kośala, passed through the Kandhmahals, and on reaching Kośala did not first come upon the Chhattisgarh plains; the distance he gives of his route, points to the district of Sambalpur. The readers will see from what has been stated before, that the description of Hiuen Tsiang of the physical aspect of the southern portion of Dakṣiṇa Kośala agrees with the aspect of the country on, and to the south of the Sambalpur tract. It has been established beyond any doubt, on the evidence of the in-

scriptions of the Somavamśi Rajas, that the Sambalpur tract was included within the Kośala Deśa in the 9th or the 10th century A. D., and was not considered then, in any way connected with either the Trikalinga or the Oḍra or Utkala Deśa. I shall have to deal with the history of these kings subsequently. What has to be noticed here is this, that even in the 7th century A. D., the Sambalpur tract was in Dakṣiṇa Kośala, and was enjoying (very likely from much earlier time) a civilization which was unknown in the neighbouring Western tracts of Orissa.

Sambalpur not in *Orissa*—The common people who have not been forced to learn in a school-geography that Sambalpur is a part of Orissa, do not consider this tract even now to be in any way connected with Orissa. When anybody proceeds to Puri, either on pilgrimage or on business, he says in common parlance that he goes to *Orissa*. It must be mentioned in this connection that it is the district of Puri which alone acquired the name Orissa, to start with, and this tradition is still maintained even in the sea-board tracts of the country. Sarala Das of the time of Raja Kapilendra Deva, who

flourished in the 15th century A. D., sets down Bhubaneswar as the northern limit of Oḍra or Orissa, in his Oriya Mahabharat. Even the poet Dina Kṛṣṇa Das of the 16th century makes Puri alone identical with Orissa.

Since the very day the district of Sambalpur was organized as a regular district in 1862, it became a district in the division of Chhattisgarh in the Central Provinces. Thus from a very remote time, till the 16th day of October 1905, the Sambalpur tract continued to be a part of Dakśiṇa Kośala.

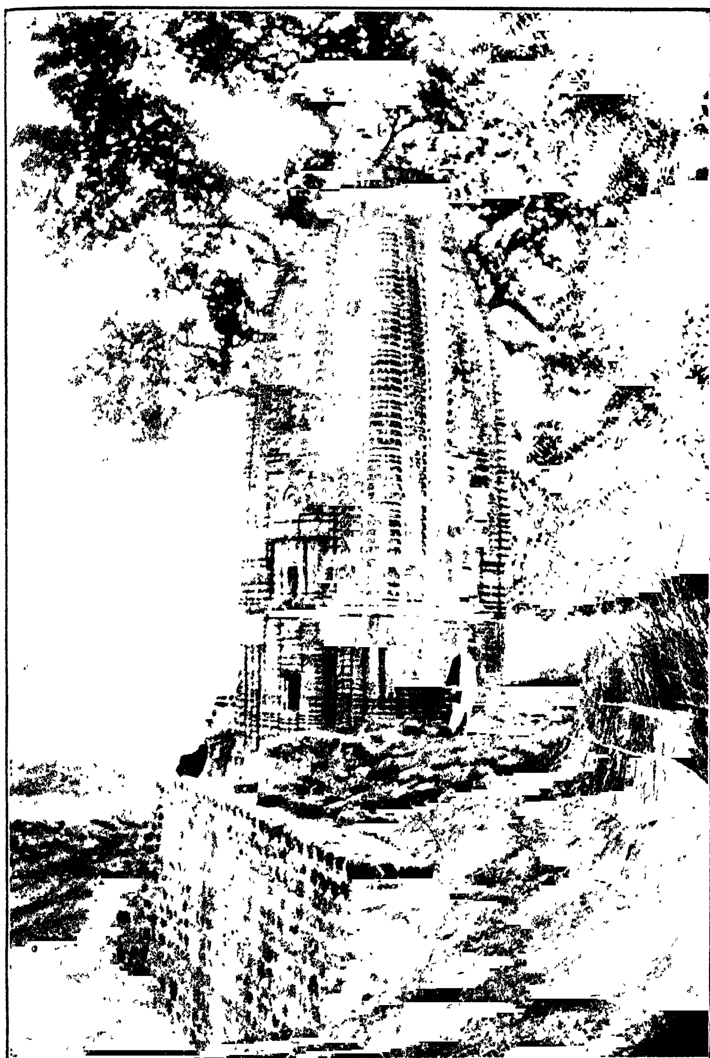
We see that Sambalpur was very difficult of access from the Kalinga country; no doubt the fishermen, as we shall notice later on, brought diamond from Sambalpur to Kalinga by availing themselves of the river route, but Hiuen Tsiang avoided this river route and so also did the hero of the Tirumalai Inscriptions, though for the latter to come upon the Sambalpur tract, a very rugged route through the Oḍra land had to be pursued. How this tract could be reached from other sides, and how Aryan influence could penetrate into it, need be described. This tract is bounded on the west by that portion of the district of Raipur, which was once a

part of the "Mekhala" kingdom of old. To the north-west of it lie the district of Bilaspur and the Feudatory States of Udepur and Jashpur which all together once constituted the kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. It is bounded again on the north by the States of Gangpur and Bonai which until recently were in Chutia-Nagpur. On the east of this tract are the Garjat States of Baud and Athmallik, and to the south lies the Feudatory State of Kharund or Kālāhāṇḍi, which borders upon the State of Jaipur in the district of Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency. It must also be noted that Kimidi (caḷled Bara Kimidi) and Ghumsur, which had once some political relation with Sonepur and Baud, adjoin the States of Patna and Kālāhāṇḍi, and are situated in the wild tract, which Hiuen Tsiang traversed to reach the Kośala country.

Until recently the Sambalpur tract remained quite isolated. It was connected with the other parts of India by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway only so late as 1890. Previous to such railway connection, this hilly tract was very difficult of access from the other parts of India. When I had been to the Feudatory State of Bamra in 1885, and visited Sambalpur and

Sonepur only a year later, I remember how little did the name of this tract of country convey to the people of Bengal. The inconvenient and inaccessible distance of Sambalpur from all stations of modern geographical interest, made it difficult even for the British Government to get competent Indian officers from elsewhere. It look in those days a full fortnight's time for a letter to reach Sambalpur by being posted at Calcutta. The mail had to be despatched from Calcutta only twice a week in steam-boats that crossed the Bay of Bengal to arrive at Chandbali in the course of one day and one night. At Chandbali there was a transhipment of the mail for being carried to Cuttack by the canal steamers. Then lay for the poor mail the cart road from Cuttack to Angul, the distance of which is 62 miles; the road from Angul to Sambalpur through the hills and forests of Rehrakhol and Sambalpur was dreaded even by the gentle denizens of forests. Tigers, bisons and wild elephants then roamed and still roam about freely in these forests, and consequently the mail runners had to take a circuitous course through the States of Athmallik, Baud, and Sonepur to arrive safe at Sambalpur.

A succession of forest-clad hill ranges all around the Sambalpur tract, repelled the Hindus for a considerably long time, though Jaina preachers did not shrink in very olden times to come into this tract of country to soften the hearts of the wild tribes who lived there. The rugged hills and the dense forests about the boundary lines, made the tract inaccessible to the Hindus; but when they actually came upon this part of the country, they found that the tract was not so uninviting as it appeared to them from the other side of the barriers about the outskirts. When the Hindus and the Hinduised people came upon this tract from Bilaspur (Dakśiṇa Kośala) and other neighbouring places, they found within the natural forts of hills a wide expanse of country, fairly open and well-watered by the Mahanadi and its tributaries. This undulating upland tract, intersected in all directions by water-channels leading to the Mahanadi, became a favourite spot for carrying on agricultural operations. In natural beauty this tract must have attracted the poetic sense of the Hinduised new-comers, for we find many temples, a bit hoary with age, built exactly where the vast ranges of hills and forests alternate with fertile



Baidyanāth Temple on the Tel

valleys. The sight of forests with deep green foliage from the top of the hills, is a thing of rare beauty. When the Hinduised cultivators grew crops in the plains watered by the rivers, miles of cultivated lands commenced to support a large number of new settlers in their newly formed villages. The streamlets run on in the rains through the hills and the valleys, and flash and gleam under the powerful sun of this hilly region. Even in the dry season, the river Mahanadi rushes down through roaring cataracts. The principal tributaries of the river Mahanadi, are the Tel, the Aung (the Onga of the old copper-plates) and the Ib. The Brāhmaṇī only touches the northern fringe of this tract, while flowing through the State of Bamra. Though the Mahanadi is a river of first magnitude, with a breadth of over one mile, and retains sufficient water during the hot-weather months, it is difficult of navigation, as its course is often obstructed by rocks in the very midstream. The bed of the river is rocky all throughout from its source to the town of Baud, and nothing but a continued range of indented boulders attract our sight in the hot-weather months. There are many dangerous rapids in the river between

the towns of Sambalpur and Sonepur. The Maulā-Bhanjā (maternal uncle and nephew) rocks which stand in a rapid, a few miles down Sambalpur, have been described in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* of 1867 as Scylla and Charybdis. The Kewats ply their boats all round the year, though from January to June the river threads its way in a narrow channel through a dreary waste of sand stretched at the foot of a long and irregular chain of weather-beaten boulders.

The town of Sonepur is situated on the confluence of the rivers Mahanadi and Tel,—the Tel forming to a certain extent the boundary line between the States of Baud and Sonepur. The Mahanadi however flows right through the centre of the State of Sonepur. The whole State of Sonepur is rather flat throughout and only some isolated hills of small height are found here and there. In the north, where the State borders on Rehrakhol, and in the south, where the State of Baud adjoins, there are some forests worth the name. The river Aung, which falls into the Mahanadi, forms at places the boundary between the States of Sonepur and Patna. The tiny river Jira, which is also an affluent of the Mahanadi, is on the northern boundary of the

State to the right of the river Mahanadi. The town of Sonepur is 52 miles from Sambalpur. The importance of the State of Sonepur in the history of the Rajas of Kośala, is very great; I have therefore to describe the advantageous situation of the Sonepur town in connection with this description.

Almost all the lands in the State of Sonepur have been brought under cultivation; and Dhān, Mug, Kulthi, Til, Cotton and Sugarcane are principally grown.

To the people of India, the climate of the State of Sonepur is not unhealthy. It is hot during eight months of the year, and is delightfully cool from November to the end of February. Where the town of Sonepur is situate, the river retains a large volume of water in the hottest part of the year, and the fishermen do a good trade all round the year. The town of Binka, about 17 miles up, has a situation almost as advantageous as the town of Sonepur, on the right bank of the Mahanadi. Binka has been a seat of river trade since long, and was perhaps once called Vinitapura, as I have noticed while editing the copper-plate grants of Mahabhava Gupta I and his successors in the Epigraphia Indica. The

non-Aryan river-goddess Binkai, who has lent her name to the town has her up-stream seat on a rock in the river about two miles up Binka, and her down-stream seat is on a boulder in the river, a short distance up the town of Baud. The jurisdiction of the goddess covers a distance of nearly 25 miles.

The town of Sonepur, with its temples and buildings, presents to-day a beautiful sight from the river. The sight of the palace from a boat in a moon-lit night, is magnificent. When the river Mahanadi is in flood, and flows with a deep groan washing the parapet walls of the Maharaja's palace, a romance of sight and sound charms the town of Sonepur.

The State of Sonepur being situated between 20°32′ and 21°11′ north latitude and 83°27′ and 84°16′ east longitude, is the south-eastern part of the Sambalpur tract. According to the census of the year 1911, the town of Sonepur contains a population of 8,652 souls while the population of the whole State is 215,716. The whole area of the State is only 906 square miles; but being favourably situated, the State yields more income than what some other neighbouring States of larger area do.



Antiquity of the Sambalpur tract.—The Hinduised form of the name of the town of Sambalpur, must be of comparatively recent time. The earliest reference we get of the place, mentions it as Sambalaka or Sambaraka without being compounded with the Sanskrit word "Pur." This is the reference by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D. The word Sambala or Sambara is found compounded with many other geographical names wholly non-Aryan. Ptolemy's mention of Sambalpur is important, as his description clearly proves that his Sambalaka must be identified with Sambalpur. Ptolemy describes the river Manada as rising in the country of the Sabarai and says that diamonds were found in the bed of that river. It is also stated that diamonds were sent from Sambalaka to other parts of the country. "Manada" cannot be any other than the Mahanadi, on the bed of which near about Sambalpur, diamond can still be obtained. I could not be persuaded to accept the suggestion of Professor Ball, that this Sambalaka (Sumelpur of later history) is to be identified with Semah on the Koel river, in the district of Palamau. The mention of the Muṇḍās by Ptolemy in connection with Sambalaka, can be easily explained. The

principal seat of the Muṇḍās is not far away from Sambalpur, and the Muṇḍās did really live, and still now live in the district of Sambalpur. It may be noted, that the word Binkai, just mentioned above, is of Savara Mundari origin, and signifies the goddess who rules over *Bings* or serpents in the river.

The great and careful historian Gibbon has stated on the authority of some Roman records (unknown to us), that Rome was supplied with diamonds from the mine of Sumelpur in Bengal. Hiuen Tsiang also mentions that diamonds were brought from the interior country and were sold at Kalinga. It is highly probable that diamonds were taken to Kalinga by the Jharās themselves, who collected them at Sambalpur.

Even when the Sambalpur tract did not come under the British powers, the Europeans knew that diamond could be obtained at Sambalpur. In 1766 Clive of historical celebrity sent one Mr. Motte to Sambalpur to purchase diamond. One Jharā of Sambalpur has become the Zemindar of Biru in Chutia-Nagpur by selling diamonds to the Raja of Chutia-Nagpur. We thus see that Sambalpur has long had the reputation of producing fine diamond. It is difficult to say when

Sambalaka assumed the form Sambalpur, but it is pretty certain that in Ptolemy's time in the 2nd century A. D., the Aryan influence reached the place. Very likely this influence radiated from Ratanpur, which was the oldest known capital of the Kośala country.

We shall see in a subsequent chapter what important part the Sambalpur tract played in the formation of a new kingdom (now a province) at the disintegration of the Kalinga Empire. A brief account of the aboriginal tribes of the Sambalpur tract may be fittingly added here to enable the readers to form a general idea of the ethnic character of the country.

The settlement of the Hindus and the Hinduised people in the Sambalpur tract must no doubt be traced from a time not later than the 6th century A. D.. though our definite history commences by about the 10th century. The different aboriginal tribes who inhabited this tract, have been, with the exception of a few advanced tribes, kept altogether outside the pale of the Hinduised society. The ethnic components of the people of the Sambalpur tract are distinctly heterogeneous. So sharply defined is the line of distinction between the races, that

the old tribal organizations of all the races, still persistently upheld, may even now be noticed. It affords therefore the opportunity to study the ethnic characters of different tribes more clearly here than elsewhere in Northern India.

What aboriginal tribes had the greatest influence in olden times, can be partly ascertained from the number of non-Aryan words in use in the Oriya language, and from the geographical names of old days which are still retained by the hills, forests, rivers and villages. The aboriginal religious rites still respected by the Hindus, also furnish us material to measure the influence of the local tribes.

I cannot adduce here the full philological evidence to prove to what extent the new Aryan settlers had social contact with different local races and tribes, beyond mentioning a few geographical names of non-Aryan origin. We meet with a large number of such geographical names as Bah-munda, Munda-mal, Munder, Utu (Ata)-bira, Kulha-bira, and many other names of Mundari origin; and also many such geographical names of other non-Aryan origin, as Guja (meaning hill, the name of a particular hill about

10 miles north-west of Sambalpur), Sir-guja (the name of a State to the west of Lohardaga), Bheden (the name of a river as well as of a zemindary in Sambalpur), Sir-girda (the name of a village), Jhar-sir-girda (Jharsuguda railway station), Loi-ra, Loi-sing (Loisringa of the Epigraphic records), and so forth occur throughout this tract. The non-Arayan word "Kerā" to indicate a cluster of villages is in use in modern Oriya to signify almost the same meaning; Goil-kera, Raur-kela, Jaman-kera, Kumur-kera, etc., are common village names in this tract. The Kandha name Jorri for a river has been retained even in the name of the river Katjorri which is far away from Sambalpur and flows past Cuttack. Many old place-names have been hinduised, but in many cases the history of the names have not been obliterated. The non-Aryan name Sāmlāi (the name of a goddess) has been tried to be hinduised by the term Samalesvari, though the newly coined high-sounding word does not convey any meaning.

As the Gonds accepted the Hindu civilization and adopted some Sanskrit words as loan words, many people have been misled to give Sanskritic interpretations to many words wholly Gondi in

origin. According to the mythology of the Gonds, their principal god Lingo had his seat on the range of hills called Bāro-pāhār situated far to the west in the Central Provinces. Wherever the Gonds moved and made their colony, they consecrated new hills in the name of Lingo, and named the sacred hills as Bāro-pāhār. Thus it is that we have got a Bāro-pāhār range in the Bargarh Subdivision of the district of Sambalpur. The song of the Gonds, in which the sacredness of Bāro-pāhār and of its presiding god Lingo has been described, was translated long ago into English by the Rev. Stephen Hislop of Nagpur, and that translation was published long ago by Captain Forsyth in his excellent work "The Highlands of Central India." I give below the Bengali translation of this important song. I have translated the original song following exactly the metre, or rather the tune, of the original. The readers may find fault with my metre according to the Bengali standard, but if sung exactly in the Gondi fashion, my metre will approximately represent the original tune.

1

Bāro-pāhāḍ mājhe
Sātpurāṭi āchhe ;
Sātpurā pāhāḍer upar Lingo oangad giri ;
Pāhiṇḍi gāchhete sethā fuler kiba chhiri ;
Char pāśe tār baro kośe bhāi,
Ekti ghar mānus kothāo nāi ;
Kāk karenā kā kā, chī kare na pākhī,
"Raghum, Raghum" āwāj kore bāgh oṭhenā dāki.
•Debtārā sab chhilen seikhāne,
Kaṣṭa tāder ha'la baḍa prāne.

2

Yata debtā tathāy
Baslen ektā sabhāy ;
Goṇder debtā chhāḍā sabāi elen se kṣetre
Telengāder debtā elen sātkuḍi ekatre.
Bāmunder debtā elen kata ?
Aṭhāra kholāy dhan thāke yata.
Sabā-i elo elonāka Gonḍer thākur sādhurā,
Chheḍe deśer Bāro-pāhāḍ chheḍe tāder Sātpurā.

As a conciliatory measure, many gods of the Gonds have been accepted by the Hindus, and the gods like Buḍā Deo are worshipped in such

names as Buḍā Raja, Buḍa Siva, etc., by the Hindus.

It is also curious to note that many words which are not at all Sanskritic in origin, and are in use in Oriya, are also in use in the far-off valley of Assam, while they are unknown in the intervening big province of Bengal. I cannot fitly adduce these examples here, but the readers may refer to my philological notes on this subject published elsewhere. No doubt some non-Aryan people, common to both the tracts, are responsible for the currency of a large number of such words as are now common in Assamese and Oriya, but their identity almost eludes our investigation to-day. It is a notorious fact that Assamese and Oriya agree in many essential particulars; but that is due to the common origin of both the dialects from an old Eastern Māgadhi language, which was also the progenitor of Bengali.

All that can be said very safely is, that some non-Aryan tribes were once influential all throughout the country from Assam to Sambalpur, and they made the civilized Aryans accept some of their words. I may mention by the way that Chutia-Nagpur owes its name to a Chutia

tribe of old and we meet with the name of a Chutia tribe in Assam; the names of some villages in Assam within the range of Chutia influence seem to agree with many place-names of the Sambalpur tract.

The strong feeling of enmity that subsists even to-day among various aboriginal tribes—the Gonds, the Binjhāls, the Savaras, etc.—clearly points to the reason which once led to their submission to the Aryan or Aryanised new-comers of old days. It may be asserted by referring to similar conditions elsewhere, that the rude tribes who hated one another, gladly accepted the subordination of the Hindu adventurers of superior culture who proceeded to meet them in the land of their struggle and strife. The Hindu overlords respected the religious notions of their rude subjects, allowed the people to maintain their tribal organizations, and adopted partly the administrative methods of the barbarous tribes; these measures of conciliation and compromise could not stimulate progressive evolution, but what is called peaceful existence was ensured to all.

From the figures obtained at the census of the year 1911, we find that the aboriginal

element in the population of this tract is rather large—it is not less than 40 per cent. of the whole population. The names of the principal aboriginal tribes who now live in the Sambalpur tract are—(*a*) the Muṇḍās, the Khariās, the Korrās and the Laḍkhā Kols of the Kolarian group, (*b*) the Bhuyiāns of mixed Kolarian descent, (*c*) the Gonds, whose ancestors had a Dravidian speech, (*d*) the Orāons who speak a Dravidian speech, but are similar to the Kols in physical characteristics, (*e*) the Savaras of great historic interest, who are now called Saharā, and who still retain some Kolarian customs and Kolarian words in their Oriya speech, (*f*) the Binjhāls, who are suspected to be of Savara origin and (*g*) the Kandhas of much notoriety.

Of the tribes mentioned above, the Gonds and the Binjhāls were once the ruling castes in the Sambalpur tract; of the sixteen hereditary Zemindars of the district of Sambalpur ten belong to the Gond caste and two to the Binjhāl caste. Kandha Zemindars are met with in the Feudatory States of Sonpur and Bamra, and they have ever been most influential in the State of Kalahandi. As to the

history of the mighty Goṇḍs, I refer the readers to Captain Forsyth's "Highlands of Central India." The States of Raigarh and Sārangarh, owned by Gond Chiefs, have ceased to belong to the Sambalpur tract from the 16th of October, 1905. All that can be mentioned here regarding the Gonds is, that they have been considerably hinduised and that they do not retain their tribal language in the Sambalpur tract. The great influence they once exercised can be distinctly noticed in the religious institutions of the Hindus. Besides their Lingo (not to be confounded with Lingam of the Hindus, though many Hindus have made Linga and Lingam one) and Buḍā Rājā, many village-gods of theirs are honoured by the Hindus, though it is the non-Hindu village watchman (Jhankar) who worships the village gods. The charms and witch-craft of the Gonds and Savaras (called Savari-vidyā) are practised by the Hindus.

Another fact may be mentioned about the Gonds. In the old literature of our country as well as in the report of different races of India by some foreign ancient writers, we meet with the mention of the Savaras, but not of the Gonds. Though at present the Savaras

not occupy any social position worth the name, and we meet only with Gond Chiefs and Gond Zemindars, the ancient Epigraphic records speak of the influential position of the Savaras in the Upper valley of the Mahanadi. I shall refer to these facts in recording the account of the early rulers of the Sambalpur tract in a subsequent chapter. The form of the name as Savarai, occurring in Ptolemy's accounts, is interesting to note. I may remind the readers that Gondi is a Dravidian speech, but Savaras to-day, who are found in Orissa, only speak Oriya with an admixture of some Muṇḍāri words. The authors of the Kādambarī, and the Daśakumara Charita speak of Savara influence all throughout Orissa and the highlands of Central India. I am inclined to think that the Gonds were described as Savaras in olden days, even though they belong to a separate tribe.

The Binjhāls also have been partly hinduised and have been speaking Oriya since long. The Zemindar family of Borasambar is the aristocratic representative of the Binjhāls in the district of Sambalpur. What part the Binjhāls played in the political history of this

tract, will be stated in connection with the history of the Ruling Chiefs of Patna. The present Zemindar of Borasambar has edited the old book—the Nṛsimha-māhātmya—and has claimed in this book a Rajput origin for the Binjhāls by interpolating some new lines. It has been narrated in this work, that the four heroic youths of the forest region who possessed wonderful magical powers, married Savara-Lohār girls, and became the progenitors of the Binjhāls; the eldest of those heroic brothers is said to have been the progenitor of the Zemindar family of Borasambar. As to the ethnic component of the Binjhāls, the readers may refer to "Castes and Tribes of Central Provinces" edited by Messrs. Russel and Hiralal; I may only add that the tradition maintained by the non-ambitious poor Binjhāls that their ancestors came from the Vindhya hills may not be unhistorical, for the term Binjhāl may easily be derived from the word Vindhya.

Relics of the Kandha supremacy are many in the Sambalpur tract, though in Kalahandi alone they are most powerful. The other tribes enumerated above do not seem to have possessed any position of authority in olden days except-

ing the Mundās who had their chief seat in the district of Ranchi and expanded themselves in the district of Sambalpur with considerable power to defend themselves.

We cannot very definitely know what was exactly the nature of the political organization of the aboriginal tribes uninfluenced by the Hindu civilization, but when we contrast the administrative system of the Hindu Rājās of this tract with that of the Rājās of Northern India, we can detect in the former some component elements contributed by the aboriginal people. We can also know from the relics of old customs of the Gonds that their wizards or priests were mere beggars, and their services were requisitioned only when incantation was necessary to pacify the blood-thirsty demons. A class of trained thieves were located by the Gonds at their frontier not only to keep watch, but also to rob the neighbouring tribes of their property; the *Gandās* are these people of the tribe of the hereditary thieves who even to-day are employed as village watchmen in all the villages of the Sambalpur tract. The very position of the Gāṇḍās show that they are not a tribe but a horde, a band of riff-raffs from all the

surrounding tribes. Even to-day they stealthily secure boys and girls of other tribes to swell their number.

The Pān people of the eastern portion of Orissa are wrongly made identical with the Gāṇḍās on account of their following the same occupation in life. The geographical distribution of the Gāṇḍās should alone be sufficient to show that they have no connection with the Pāns; we have moreover a surer evidence to prove that the Pāns come from a stock of people who now principally reside in the Tamilakam country. The history of the tribes of Southern India informs us that the Pānan people, and those who are now called Paraiyās, were the principal aboriginal inhabitants of the Eastern coast of Peninsular India when the Nāgas poured into the Southern country. It is recorded in old Tamil books that the Pānans had a better status formerly and were minstrels in the Tamilakam as well as in the Kalinga country. That they had been basket-makers and devil-dancers since long is also on record. I need hardly add that the Tamil form Pānan is identical with the Oriya form Pān. As in the Madras Presidency, so in Orissa, the Pāns continue to

be basket-makers and musicians. They are not actually devil-dancers in Orissa as in Madras, but it is a fact that in matters of invoking the devils or evil spirits, the Pāns of Orissa are still regarded as experts. A casual observer may also notice that the Pāns and the Pāns present one and the same physical type.

Odras in Kosala.—For its importance it may bear repetition that the Oḍras of old and not the Ukkala Bhuyiāns of the northernmost tract poured into the district of Puri at the breaking-up of the Kalinga Empire to give the district the name Orissa. Living in proximity to the Sambalpur tract, the Oḍras could easily despatch their surplus population into that tract and through that tract to other countries to the west, though their migration westward could not be as inviting as it was to the south-east in the district of Puri. Of the hordes of the Oḍras, the Sānsiās (called also Soansiās or Suhāsiās) seem to have been very migratory in their habits in old times. They are found as earth-diggers and stone-masons in the far-off district of Chanda in the Central Provinces. They in Chanda have quite forgotten that Orissa was their place of origin, but their name Oḍya-

Sānsiā bears evidence of their past history. These Sānsiās are only stone-masons or stone-cutters in Sambalpur and Sonpur, and are called Suhāsiā or Suhāsiā Rānā. The word Rānā or Mahārānā signifies the occupation of a mason. In Orissa proper, that is to say, in the eastern districts, they are known merely by the name Rānā or Mahārāna, and have acquired, a high status there to-day. Of the other hordes the Oḍ-chāsās, who must have been agricultural people in all times, are in some number in the Sambalpur tract ; one section of them bears the simple name Oriyā, and another the name Chāsā or Tasā. In Orissa these Chāsās have in many cases formed marriage alliance both with the Karanas and the Khandayats. The expansion of the Oḍras in their migratory movements confirms to some extent what has been asserted previously regarding the original land of the Oḍras.

A word may just be added here in respect of the wrong supposition of some scholars that the Ukkalas being rather small in number were absorbed by the Oḍras and consequently the country to-day bears the name Orissa by preference. The fact is that the district of Puri which

to begin with acquired the name Orissa, became the seat of the early rājās of the country, and so the whole of the then newly organized province became known as Orissa. The old name Utkala with which the early Hindus were more familiar, continues to-day as a literary variant of Orissa.

Kosala Hindus.—Hindus of various sects, whose ancestors belonged undoubtedly to the districts of Bilaspur and Raipur, have been living in the Sambalpur tract since very long ; it is significant to note that these people forming a small minority among very influential Oriya-speaking population, speak invariably among themselves that provincial form of Hindi of the districts of Bilaspur and Raipur which has acquired the name *Lariā*. They are the Aghariās of agricultural occupation, the Sonārs or goldsmiths, the Telis or Oil-pressers, and the weavers of two classes, namely, the Bhuliās and the Kostās. The influence of Dakṣiṇa Kośala is still distinctly visible in the Sambalpur tract. Kośaleśvara or Lord of Kośala is the name of Siva enshrined in a temple in the State of Sonpur ; this temple is at least three hundred years old. A Sanskrit work enittled Kośalānanda was composed nearly two



centuries ago to sing the glory of the Chohan Rajas of Bolāngir (Patna) by a Pandit of that State; it is still in manuscript, and much of its value has been lessened because of constant interpolations.

Some facts of much moment.—It can hardly be expected of the general readers that they will closely follow what have been hitherto set out to clear up the old situation of Orissa by marshalling very dry and unromantic facts mostly of ethnic interest. Of facts discussed and detailed thus far, those which are of much moment and should be borne in mind for properly understanding the whole historic situation, are therefore repeated here in a few lines :—

(i) In ancient time almost the whole of the Andhra-deśa of to-day was the principal home of the Kalinga people ; the Kalingas only migrated to Orissa when the sea-board districts of Orissa formed a part of their empire, designated as Mūḍu-Kalinga or Trikalinga. The name Mogalingam very correctly recorded by Pliny as the ancient name of Southern Kalinga very clearly discloses the fact that the Andhra-deśa was the old home of the Kalingas ; for Mogalingam is the phonetic representation of Mūgalingam, and

this word is a compound of Mū+Kalingām. 'Mū' in old Dravidian signifies 'old', and 'K' of Kalinga could not but be reduced to 'g' becoming a medial letter. How the long 'mū' was reduced to a short sound and how it is in the words 'muṇ' or 'muṇṇe' (before) and in mudugu (back), has been clearly shown by Caldwell. The history of the old Kalinga Empire is the history of the Kalinga people, and not of the people of Orissa as now constituted as a country.

(ii) Kharavela was a Dravidian ruler ; he used the script and the language of the Jainas, as in the first place the Dravidians had no script of theirs in those days, and as in the second place Kharavela embraced the Jaina religion. It is a well-established fact that among the Buddhists and the Jainas the persons of high rank and respectable situation were given the epithet *Aira* or Bhadanta ; it will never be correct to say that a man was called *Aira* with reference to his Aryan descent. Hiuen Tsang bears unmistakable evidence of the fact that when the Kalingas ceased to rule in Orissa, new tribes of barbarous speeches occupied the sea-board tract of Orissa and the Kalingas were wholly within the confines of their old home. The civilization of old time

was wholly obliterated in the 7th century A. D., and consequently in the history of Orissa no such thing as historic continuity with the past can be thought of.

(iii) At the disintegration of the Kalinga Empire, the forest-tribes all over the country brought themselves into prominence, and awaited the advent of a new force to hold all the parts of Orissa under its sway. *It is altogether the new accounts of a newly-organized country which the history of Orissa has to present.*

Chapter V

THE RULERS OF THE DARK AGE OF ORISSA.

It is not definitely known as to when exactly a complete disintegration of the old Kalinga Empire took place, and it is equally unknown how long since that disintegration a chaotic condition continued in Orissa. Hiuen Tsang's records inform us, as we have noticed before, that in the middle of the 7th century A. D. the whole of the Sambalpur tract excepting perhaps the portion of it comprised in the State of Kalahandi was within the range of influence of the rulers of Dakṣina Kośala, and the sea-board tract of Orissa acknowledged perhaps a nominal overlordship of Harṣavardhana of Northern India. As to the local rulers of Eastern Orissa this Chinese traveller does not give us very definite information ; we only learn that the district of Puri which then obtained the name Kongáda was under Brahminic influence and the rest of the eastern tract in the north, then designated as Ucha or Ukkala, was being governed by some rulers who had their seat somewhere

in that part of the district of Midnapore which was once a part of Utkala.

It was in the early years of 7th century A. D. that Rājā S'aśāṇka or Narendra Gupta of Karṇasuvarṇa became the lord of Kongada, but Hiuen Tsang does not tell us if the successor of Narendra Gupta had any political relation with the district of Puri when he visited that district. As to the condition of the highlands of Orissa lying between the Sambalpur tract and sea-board districts of Orissa, absolutely nothing can be known from any record of that time.

Some stray rulers of the dark age.—How Orissa as a composite country emerged out of a chaos cannot be, with our present knowledge of things, retraced step by step, but the stray accounts we get of some rulers during the dark age of Orissa may be brought together to see if some links can be supplied to the chain which appears now to be hopelessly broken.

Ancient records of Narendra Gupta of Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal bear evidence of only Kongada country (Puri and a part of Ganjam) to have been subjugated by Narendra Gupta; Utkala or Ucha of Hiuen Tsang does not appear to have owned his rulership. It is only shortly

after the time of Narendra Gupta that Hiuen Tsang speaks of a separate local ruler of the Utkala country. The question may be raised if in the first place it could be possible for Narendra Gupta to come upon Puri without traversing the districts of Balasore and Cuttack, and if in the second place Narendra Gupta having his principal seat in Bengal could keep the Kongada country under his rule when the northern portion of Orissa was under the rule of another house of rulers.

As, however, the facts are there that Narendra Gupta became the lord of Kongada and the Utkala portion of Orissa was never claimed by him, a suggestion for solving the difficulty is thrown out for the consideration of the readers.

A road or a highway lay in those days from Bengal to Puri through Dhalbhum and the hilly tracts of the highlands of Orissa, as has been hinted at in the epigraphic records of the Bhanja Rājās of Bāmanghāti in Mayurbhanj, only one of which has been edited by Kielhorn in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. No matter whether Narendra Gupta reached Puri by proceeding along that highway or not, the historical importance of this road is

very great to explain many political situations of old time. The readers of Mr. Cobden-Ramsay's "Gazeteer of Orissa Feudatories" will clearly see in the excellent description of the author that entering into the State of Mayurbhanj from Dhalbhum side a clearly marked out highway is met with, and keeping the high hills of Mayurbhanj to the left and the high mountain of Pal-Lahara to the right one may come upon the left bank of the Mahanadi by traversing the highway in question, and that by crossing the Mahanadi one may easily reach the district of Puri or rather the Khurda Subdivision of that district. This road must have afforded easier communication in all seasons in those days, since to cross many rivers in the sea-board tract was difficult in ancient time.

As to the ruling house which governed the northern part of Orissa, at least for some time during the dark age in question, we get perhaps some clue in some epigraphic records. This is what we proceed to consider.

The S´ulika or S´ulki Rulers.—The rulers of the S´ulika or S´ulki clan of quite uncertain origin, brought first to notice by Manmohan Chakravarti (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIV, pp. 123–28) have now

assumed much importance because of the mention of the S´ulikas in the Harahā Inscriptions of the time of Maukhari Iśāna Varman of the date 554 A. D. published in the 14th volume of the Epigraphia Indica at page 110. To clear up the position of the S´ulkis I reproduce my remarks regarding Chakravarti's paper referred to above, which I made bold to offer in 1910 in my paper on the Stambheśvarī published in the J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. VII, pp. 443–47. It must be stated in the interest of history that the copper-plate records of the S´ulki Ruler Kulastambha Deva were very badly edited by Mr. Chakravarti. It was unfortunate that the original plates were not presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the time of the publication of the paper. We meet with the remarks of the then editor of the journal that the text published in the journal was that given by Mr. Chakravarti and that the plates were not available for comparison. I think some gaps in the text could be filled up, in spite of "bad orthography and grammar" complained of by Mr. Chakravarti, if Mr. Chakravarti could detect the metrical composition of a good portion of the text. It is clear even in the imperfect reproduction of the

text that 8th line of Plate A discloses one half foot and one full foot of the Indravajrā verse and lines 11 to 13 contain two feet of Vasantatilakā. Even though the original plates cannot be obtained for comparison, it can be asserted with perfect certainty that the reading "Yaścha" in line 4 (reverse of Plate A) is wrong and should be "Pañcha," for five Riṣis have been mentioned to indicate the "Pravara" of a man; how "ya" could be wrongly read for "pa" in the document is rather clear to all epigraphists; it is for the sake of reading "ya" for "pa" that "s´cha" was misread for "ñcha." Thus we see that we cannot very much rely either upon the reading or upon the interpretation of the text by Mr. Chakravarti.

When I asserted in my paper on the "Stambheśvarī" that Chakravarti's identification of "S´ulki" with "Chālukya" was wholly unwarranted and wrong, Mr. R. D. Banerjee suggested in a note to my paper that S´ulki was a corrupt form of "S´olānki." That the S´ulkis or S´ulikas (still surviving in the district of Midnapore) cannot be identified either with the Chālukyas or with the S´olānkis is now conclusively proved by the fact that the S´ulikas have been mentioned in the

Harahā Inscriptions of 554 A. D. when the existence of neither of the suggested names could be thought of. I shall consider the undoubted historical value of Chakravarti's plates after I have dealt with the importance of the mention of the S'ulikas in the Harahā Inscriptions.

The Harahā Inscriptions of the date of 554 A. D. inform us that the Maukhari Ruler Iśāna Varman conquered first the *Andhras in Southern India* and then came upon the S'ulikas at a place which was presumably not far off from the sea-coast of Bengal, for the Maukhari adventurer is reported to have dispersed some sea-pirates of the Gauḍa country from the Bay of Bengal to their original home (wherever that might have been), shortly or immediately after having routed the S'ulikas. It must be noted here because of the importance of the question, that the inference of the learned editor of the Harahā Inscriptions regarding the home of the Gauḍas is hardly justified by what has been stated in the text. It has not been stated in the text that the pirate Gauḍas resided on land on the sea-coast of Bengal, but they have been mentioned in the accusative case as "Samudrāśrayān," that is to say, those who had Samudra or sea for their

very āśraya or the place of resort or residence.

Leaving this important digression aside it has to be noted that we get some S'ulika rulers in the middle of the sixth century A.D. at an inland place not far away from the sea-coast of Bengal proper, and that the Dravidians whom Iśāna Varman conquered just previous to his coming upon the S'ulikas have been recorded as the Andhras of Southern India and not as Kalingas of the Kalinga Empire. Though a very definite statement as to the situation of the Andhras is wanting, circumstantial evidence points to the fact that the disintegration of the Kalinga Empire spoken of before had taken place long before the time of Iśāna Varman. Evidence relating to the S'ulika rulers in Orissa is of surer character. The geographical situation hinted at in the Harahā Inscriptions is important to note. The locality referred to as not far off from the sea-coast of Bengal, is in all probability that southern portion of the district of Midnapore which was once a part of the Utkala country. It is noteworthy that the S'ulkis do live in Midnapore to-day with a tradition of their royal descent, and their distribution in the district is

strongly in favour of the supposition that the subdivision of Contai in which they reside in larger number was the home, or the place nearest to the old home, of their remote ancestors. Certainly I was predisposed to place the old seat of the S'ulki rulers in this locality because of the suggestion of Hiuen Tsang spoken of before, but I think my inference is not in conflict with the facts narrated in this connection.

Now to trace the origin of the S'ulkis and to connect the present S'ulki inhabitants of Midnapore with the old ruling house, I refer first of all to the charters of S'ulki Rājā Kulastambha Deva edited by Manmohan Chakravarti and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1895-96. "Stambha" as a component part of the name Kulastambha is of some significance, since "Stambheśvarī" has been declared to be the tutelary goddess of the ruling house; all prosperity of the rulers has been declared to have been due to the grace of this goddess by the phrase "Stambheśvarī datta vara prasādāt."

I now reproduce a good portion of my paper on the "Stambheśvarī" from the J. A. S. B. to trace the origin of the goddess, and if possible

the origin of the Stambheśvarī worshippers, namely, the S´ulki Rājās of Orissa.

THE STAMBHES´VARI

On a site in the centre of the town of Sonpur stands a pillar which is known to be the pillar of Stambheśvarī Devī. The word stambha means a pillar. When it was that this pillar was raised is not known to the people. The Ruling Chief of Sonpur has informed me that it is believed by the people that his ancestor Rāj Sing Deo, father of Achala Sing Deo and great-great-grandson of Rājā Madangopāl, the first Chief, brought this pillar to light, while removing a very big heap of old ruins. A slab of stone bearing an inscription of no great importance was also unearthed at that time. This inscription gives no clue whatever to the pillar or to any king who got the inscription engraved. Another account is, that the wife of Rāj Sing Deo brought a little toy pillar of Khambeśvarī from the house of her father, a Raja of Kimidi. Raja Rāj Sing then built a temple for Khambeśvarī to honour the goddess of his wife's forebears.

The tradition that it is a Stambheśvarī pillar is of importance; for the Goddess Stambheśvarī

or Khambheśvarī, as popularly called, is not worshipped by the Brāhmans and Kshatriyas at Sonpur. The homage that is now paid to this pillar is for the fact that an old pillar once consecrated to some god or goddess has been found out in the *debris* of old buildings.

Khambeśvarī (Stambheśvarī) is now found in the Sambalpur tract, as well as in the western part of the Orissa Garjāt Mahals, to be the tutelary goddess of the Dumāl people. The Kandhas who live on the south-eastern border of Sonpur and in the State of Baud adjoining this border, do also regard Khambeśvarī to be their tribal goddess. The Dumāls are Hindus, and the Brāhmans drink water fetched by them. Both the Dumāls and the Kandhas set up wooden posts in their villages to represent the goddess Khambeśvarī.

The Dumāls say that they originally came from Oḍśingā, which is in the Feudatory State of Athmallik which borders on the State of Baud to the south, and which almost touches the north-eastern border of the State of Sonpur, where this State adjoins the State of Rehrakhol. The geographical name Oḍśingā is of importance. For we find this name mentioned in the copper plates of the

Trikalinga Guptas. In one charter of Mahābhava Gupta Deva it has been mentioned that a Brāhman family which came from Oḍayaśringa (Oḍśingā) was granted a village in the Patna State (E. I., VIII, pp. 138–43).

I have also been informed that some Dumāls say that they came originally from Khemri or Khemidi in Ganjam. My informer Paṇdit Kaśīnāth Dāni gave me a couplet in Oriyā, which, he says, the Dumāls gave him in narrating their history. I have not yet been able to get the statement properly verified by any Dumāl. The couplet spoken of is as follows :—

Khemandi rājya nija sthāna
Deda laksa Dumbā kale bhiyāna.

The meaning is—Khemidi was the original home which created or gave rise to the Dumbās or the Dumāls to the extent of one lakh and a half in number. If this is a genuine tradition amongst Dumāls I am inclined to believe that it was Raj Sing's wife of Kimidi Raj family who introduced the goddess in the State of Sonpur.

The Dumāls set up their Goddess Khambeśvari by putting two posts of black wood in the earth. The Dumāls never wear any cloth or

ornament which is black in colour. They always wear *dhutis* and *saris* having red border, and it is only red lac *churis* which they wear. It is also to be noted that their women never put the mark of *sindur* or vermilion on their forehead as all other Hindu married women do. Usually in the Oriya villages the walls of the houses are painted dark with sticky ash-coloured earth ; but the Dumāls invariably paint their house walls with brown-coloured *geri-māti*. They say that their Goddess Khambeśvarī is black in colour.

The Dumāl women do not wear any ornament about their feet or ankles, as usually women of other castes do. They only bore their left nostril to wear a nose-ring, and perforate the lobes of the ear for a similar purpose. But they religiously avoid perforating the other parts of the nose and the ear. I notice these customs so that in future some clue may be obtained for tracing the origin not only of the Dumāls but also of the S'ulkis.

The Dumāls worship their tribal goddess Khambeśvarī in the month of Asvin when the Durgā Pūjā is celebrated by the Hindus. In the month of Asvin they worship Khambeśvarī under the spreading branches of the *mahua* (*bassia*

latifolia) tree. It is significant to note that the god or goddess who has his or her seat under the shade of a tree, is called *dimli* in the Sambalpur tract. May it not be the case that the name Dumāl has its origin in *dimli* owing to the fact that these people worship a *dimli* goddess ?

There is a caste in the Sambalpur tract called Sudh. This term is supposed to be a contraction either of the term Sudra or of the word Suddha (pure). There are two sections of the Sudh people, namely, the Buṭkā Sudhs and the Baḍ Sudhs. The Buṭkā Sudhs are treated still as an aboriginal tribe and are not touched by the high class Hindus. But the Baḍ (big) S'udhs are allowed to offer water to the Brāhmaṇs. The Dumāls interdine with the Baḍ S'udhs, but the S'udhs and the Dumāls do not intermarry. This shows that the Dumāls and the S'udhs are akin to each other, while the S'udhs must be supposed to have once belonged to the tribe of the Buṭkā S'udhs, who are considered to be of low origin.

Even where the Dumāls have their temples (called by the Telegu name *gudi* by all the Hindus of the Sambalpur tract) for their goddess,

they fix in the earth two pieces of wood, one to represent Khamsiri or Khambeśvarī and the other to represent Parmasiri or Parameśvarī. For the Parameśvarī a piece of *rohini* wood is obtained. The word *rohini* is in the feminine gender, and it means red-coloured goddess. The wood *rohini* is Indian red-wood which is known to the botanists as *soymida febrifuga.* The Brāhman priest worships the Parameśvarī for the Dumāls, while the Dumāls themselves worship their Khambeśvarī.

It is difficult to say whether the Khambeśvarī has come over to the Dumāls from the home of the Kandhas. The Aryan form of the name points to a time of Hindu or Hinduised influence both over the Dumāls and the Kandhas, at least in the translation of the name of the goddess. The sacrificial post of the Kandhas is also known to be of black wood.

The history of the "Stambheśvarī," as has been given above by an extract from my own writings, is strongly in favour of a non-Aryan origin of the family of the Hinduised S'ulki Ruler Kula-stambha Deva. It is of much significance that the S'ulki people who are met with in the district of Midnapore are not allowed to offer

drinking water to the high-caste Hindus even though these S'ulkis are wealthy and respectable and declared themselves as Rajputs. It is desirable that the domestic customs of the S'ulkis of Midnapore should be cautiously studied to see if they agree any way with the Dumāls of Sambalpur.

Another fact may be related here from the history of Assam, though I am not sure if any real historical relation may exist between the S'ulki rulers of Orissa and those whom I am going to mention.

There is a tradition in Assam that some Mlechchhas proceeded from Bengal and established once a ruling dynasty in Assam. We get again in the excellent History of Assam by Sir Edward Gait that by about the eleventh century A. D. or a little earlier, the Rājās Sālastambha, Bigrahastambha, Pālakastambha, Bijaystambha and others established a kingdom in Assam; it has also been stated that Sālastambha of the list has been spoken of as "*a great chief of the Mlechchhas.*" Who can say that the powerful ancestors of Kulastambha Deva were not Mlechchhas (aboriginal people) to start with and did not belong to that Mlechchha clan of the Mādlā-

pāṇji tradition which is reported to have ruled over Orissa previous to the time of Yayāti ?

Whatever may be the value of this suggestion relating to an uncertain condition of things, it is doubtless that the geographical area of Stambheśvarī's influence has been the tract of country covered by the State of Baud in Orissa and some portions of the district of Ganjam on the north-west adjoining the State of Baud. It is also remarkably striking that the successors of the Early Bhanja Rājās whose epigraphic records will be noticed later on became the worshippers of the Goddess Stambheśvarī when they extended their territory by making an acquisition of the State of Baud. These records edited by me in the Epigraphia Indica and in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, show that unlike their forefathers of Bāmanghāti area they have spoken of the Goddess Stambheśvarī when making gifts to the Brahmans in and about the State of Baud. Stambheśvarī as a goddess of some influence has not been discovered at any place outside the geographical limits indicated above.

I have shown in my article on the Stambheśvarī that Kulastambha Deva and his ancestors

did not hail from Southern India. Remarks regarding it need not be reproduced here after what has been already discussed on the point. It is now relating to the time of Kulastambha Deva that our attention should be drawn. The hopelessly mangled text of the Sulki charters gives in its recital the names of three generations of the grantor ; the third name which is evidently the name of the grantor and which should be read as Raṇastambha and not Kulastambha bears alone the title Mahārājā. Chakravarti failed perhaps to see that "L" and celebral "N" look almost alike in the script of the time and this is why he has wrongly proposed to read "Ku" for the initial "R" of the name of the grantor. Despite his title, Raṇastambha seems to occupy like his predecessors the position of a subordinate ruler, for the usual descriptive words for an Adhirāj are wanting in his case. Who, however, was the overlord at this time, is not disclosed by the charter. Chakravarti mentions that at the top of the records appears a half moon and below the half moon is the figure of either a bull or of a boar ; the figure cannot but be of a bull, for the position of a boar under the Saiva emblem of half moon is an anomaly ; moreover,

the text itself shows the Saiva religion of the grantor. We meet with the emblems half moon and the bull invariably in all the charters of the early Bhanja Rājās. The Bhanjas were doubtlessly ruling at Bāmanghāti in Mayurbhanj and in the Gumsur tract of the Ganjam District in the tenth century A. D. as local chiefs, but subordination to them of the rulers of Eastern Orissa is not at all likely.

The time tenth century A. D. suggested for the charters by Chakravarti on paleographic evidence, is quite acceptable. At this very time, as we shall presently see, the Kosala Guptas of the line of Janamejaya and his son Yayāti became supreme all over Orissa. If Raṇastambha, his father, and his grandfather Kulastambha flourished in the tenth century A. D., they could not but all have been under the overlordship of the Kosala Guptas who were Trikalingādhipati at the time. It is also noteworthy that the concluding lines of the charters in question beginning with "Iti Kamala-dalāmbu-vindu-lolām" are exactly what appear as the concluding lines of the charters of the Kosala Guptas. Equally significant is the fact that the concluding lines alluded to appear invariably in the charters of

the successors of the Early Bhanja Rājās who ruled in Baud and in some parts of the district of Ganjam.

We may fail to know definitely what exactly the position of the Sulki rulers was in the tenth century A. D.; it is pretty certain that many Sulki rulers governed some portions of Orissa in the east from at least the middle of the sixth century to either the middle or end of the tenth century A. D. It is difficult however to assert if this rule continued through an unbroken line of succession, or was discontinuous during the long period of five hundred years. Perhaps it was discontinuous, for the charters edited by Chakravarti do not allude to the ancient glory of the Sulki House. It may be noted in passing that though the Saiva religion of the rulers of Orissa has been prominently brought out in the charters under consideration, there is no reference anywhere, either direct or implied, to the Krittivāsa Kṣetra of modern Bhubaneswar.

Chapter VI

The Bhanja Rulers and their time.—The Bhanjas whose accounts will be now narrated mainly on the authority of some epigraphic records, flourished as local chiefs of much influence in the north-western hilly region of that northern State of the highlands of Orissa (or more properly of Utkala) which continues to bear their name-impress in the geographical designation of Mayurbhanj. Their earliest time falls in the dark age of the history of Orissa; they continued to rule with independence when the Kosala Guptas (as will be narrated subsequently) were bringing together all parts of Orissa into one composite whole, and survived the time of the dynastic rule of the Kosala Guptas as rulers of some petty principalities. With the distinct object of clearing up the situation of the Kosala Guptas, who may justly be regarded to be the creators of Orissa as a country, the accounts of the Bhanjas have been prefixed to those of the Kosala Guptas.

To remove all misconceptions caused by some ruling houses assuming the surname Bhanja at

present time in Orissa, it must be stated very distinctly at the outset that the Bhanjas of the present-day Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Baud *are in no way related to or connected with the early Bhanjas who founded the State of Mayurbhanj* and other principalities in the district of Ganjam.

What has been recorded in the "Feudatory States Gazetteer" by Mr. Cobden-Ramsay, the late noted Political Agent of the Feudatory Areas, regarding the origin of the ruling families of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, on the basis of family tradition and the State papers, prove beyond any doubt that the present Bhanja families of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar are of recent origin and are in no way connected with the early Bhanjas of our old epigraphic records. The annals of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar as well as their tradition agree equally in the account of the origin of the modern Bhanjas ("Feudatory Gazetteer," pp. 213 and 239). It is narrated that a son of the celebrated Man Singh of Jaypur in Rajputana came to Puri and got the Zemindari of Hariharpur on marrying a daughter of the then Gajapati Rāja of Puri, and that subsequently the eldest son of this adventurer became the ruler of the northern half of the State and

the second son became the proprietor of the southern half which developed into the State of Keonjhar. It is also stated that Jay Singh after the acquisition of Hariharpur conquered *Mayuradhvajá then holding the* gadi *at Bamanghati* in the western part of the State, and thus effected a territorial extension. The new ruler after this acquisition of territory assumed the surname Bhanja as a measure of policy. The absurd dates recorded in the family annals may be wholly disregarded, as the temple of Jagannāth and the progenitors of the Gajapati Rājās were not in existence earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A. D. Moreover the date of Man Singh and that of the expedition of his son Jagat Singh in Orissa are too well-established to allow any confusion to arise. We all know that this event took place in 1589. The traditional account that the upper part of Keonjhar and the open eastern tract of Mayurbhanj constituted a Zemindary entitled Hariharpur has now been proved to be true from the records of the Moghul times by my learned friend Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. According to family tradition and the State papers, the present ruling family of Baud originated from Ananga

Bhanja, a nephew of Bisvambhar Bhanja who was a Rāja of Keonjhar. Without even examining this claim critically, we can assert with certainty that the progenitor of the present Baud Rāja who comes of the Bhànja family of Keonjhar must be placed at least three decades after 1589 at the earliest. I shall not be profitably engaged if I show here that the Baud genealogical table is a thoroughly unreliable document.

It is quite a fortunate thing for history that no name appearing on the genealogical table of the present Baud House is found by chance to be identical with any name of the Bhanjas of our epigraphic records, though this table has been swelled with numerous fanciful names. The fact that Ananga Bhanja of Keonjhar origin gave up the title Bhanja and assumed the title Deva at his accession to the *Baud Gadi* ("Feudatory Gazetteer," p. 136) shows that he accepted according to the rules of adoption the title of the adoptive family. It may be reasonably presumed from the *gotra* name of the Baud Rājās that the heirless family in which Ananga was adopted belonged to the Kāsyapa gotra of the solar race and the Rājās of that extinct family bore the title Dēva Varman

as the present Rājās of Baud do. We learn from the copper-plate grant of Yogesvara Deva Varman, grandson of Somesvara Deva Varman, that he held both Baud and Sonpur as a feudatory of some other Rājā not explicitly mentioned in the grant (E. I., XII, p. 218). When I edited this record, Mr. Sewell very kindly worked out the date from the materials I supplied him from the record itself; the earliest possible date, according to Mr. Sewell's astronomical calculation, is Sunday, 9th January, 1508. Irrespective of what has been stated about the Baud Rājās of the ground of their Keonjhar origin, it may be asserted that the present line of rulers must have come into power after the Deva Varmans of our epigraphic record ceased to rule in Baud, since the present Rājās have a continued rule from the beginning up to now. Referring to the fact of the existence of the Deva Varmans in the sixteenth century in Baud (as established in my paper referred to above), I am strongly inclined to hold that the remote forebear of the present Rājās of Baud was taken in adoption in the family of Yogesvara Deva Varman who claimed to be of the solar race and of the Kāsyapa gotra.

It thus stands out as a fact beyond all doubts that the founders of the present ruling houses of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Baud were newcomers in Orissa in the sixteenth century A. D. and were not of the lineage of the old Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj and Gumsur, whose epigraphic records are now going to be dealt with to ascertain the political condition of Orissa during its early formative period. It will not be a digression to state in this connection that excepting the State of Ranpur all the States of Orissa Proper lying beyond the Sambalpur tract originated with grants from the Rājās of Puri whose antiquity does not go beyond the limits of the twelfth century A. D. The historical sections of Cobden-Ramsay's "Feudatory Gazetteer" very fully and clearly disclose this fact. The distinct object of pointing out this state of things, is to show when the old Bhanjas (whose political activities are going to be described) were extending their influence in the highlands of Orissa, there did not exist any other State in the highlands of Orissa, and all that existed were perhaps several tribal organizations of various aboriginal people.

The Early Bhanjas.—Quite genuine records of early days of some rulers in the highlands of Orissa, are the copper-plate grants of those for whom we get the designation "Bhanja-bhūpati." Altogether nine charters of these rulers have hitherto been discovered, and five of them have been edited and published by me in the Epigraphia Indica and in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Of the four copper-plate grants not discovered and edited by me, three were found in the Bāmanghāti Sub-division of the State of Mayurbhanj, and the fourth was obtained in the Gumsur area in the district of Ganjam. The Bāmanghāti record which was published by the late Prof. Kielhorn furnishes the following pedigree of the Bhanja rulers :—

Raṇabhanja Deva
|
Digbhanja Deva
|
S'ilabhanja Deva
|
Mahārāja Vidyādharabhanja Deva
Dharmakalasa
(Parama-māhesvara)

Of the remaining two records belonging to Bāmanghāti one is dated in an uncertain Samvat year 288 and is of the time of Raṇabhanja, son of Digbhanja, and grandson of Koṭṭabhanja, while the other belongs to Rājabhanja, son of Raṇabhanja, and grandson of Koṭṭabhanja. In the Gumsur plates, the donor is Netribhanja, son of Raṇabhanja, and grandson of S'atru-bhanja. It cannot be asserted with certainty that Raṇabhanja, mentioned in the Gumsur plates, is identical with the 1st Raṇabhanja of the Bāmanghāti records. It is not Koṭṭabhanja or Digbhanja, who is the grandfather of Netri-bhanja, the donor of the Gumsur plates, but the name is Satrubhanja, and it has nowhere been found that Koṭṭabhanja had besides the second name Digbhanja, another such name as Satrubhanja. It is no doubt perfectly certain that the Bhanjas of Bāmanghāti and Gumsur belong to one and the same family, for all the rulers of both the places recite in their grants that their first ancestor was born miraculously of an egg of a pea-hen in that part of the forest region of Mayurbhanj which was once a tapovana and had the designation Koṭṭāsrama. The fact, however, that Netribhanja belonged to

the Bhanja family of the Bāmanghāti Bhanjas does not warrant us in holding that the two Raṇabhanjas referred to above are one and the same person. In this repect I modify my statement as made by me in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, at page 99. The tentative genealogical table which I then prepared by referring to the four aforesaid records, is however reproduced below, as in this tree all the early names may be easily obtained for reference. The table stands as :—

Koṭṭabhanja

Digbhanja (*alias* S'ātrubhanja ?)

|

Raṇabhanja

|

Rājbhanja | Digbhanja | Netribhanja of Gumsur (Kalyāna-kalasa)

Digbhanja

|

Silābhanja Deva

|

Mahārāja Vidyādharabhanja Deva Dharmakalasa

It cannot be ascertained how many generations of rulers preceded Koṭṭabhanja, but it is pretty well certain from what has been stated in some of these records that a good length of time

elapsed between the first founder and Koṭṭa-bhanja ; it has been said that the name of the founder was Bīrbhadra and he it was who came to this world by breaking open the egg of a mayūrī or pea-hen. I suspect that *Sālabhanja* was the name of one of those unknown rulers, for "Sālabhanja-pāṭi" is met with in a record (to be noticed later on) as a village from which a Brāhman family went out to get a grant of land in the Sambalpur tract, at a time which must be previous to the time of the first Raṇabhanja of the above genealogical table. That many Silā-bhanjas and Raṇabhanjas occur in the family will be seen when the other records of the Bhanjas will be dealt with.

Leaving aside this question for the present, the date of first Raṇabhanja of the table should now be tried to be ascertained. I have already stated that this Raṇabhanja dates his Bāman-ghāti copper-plates with a Saṃvat year 288. It can be said with perfect certainty on paleo-graphic grounds that the plates bear the script of a time which can under no circumstances go beyond the tenth century A. D. This Samvat era cannot belong to any era of the Bhanjas, for Raṇabhanja's son Rājabhanja and his other

successors used only their own regnal years and did never use this unknown Saṁvat. To get a clue to this date, reference may be made to the activities of the Rājās of Southern India in Orissa during this period.

It is a fact that the Chola Rājās of this time constantly invaded Orissa, and whenever any opportunity offered they made many local Rājās of Orissa their feudatories, though in most cases their overlordship was either temporary or nominal. Though the Chola Rājās, who invariably called themselves Kesarīs, did not lay a firm hold upon Orissa after their brilliant victories or victorious expeditions, it is hardly to be doubted that as overlords they exercised some influence over the local Rājās of Orissa. Looking now to this political condition of the time, beyond the upper limit of which the Bāmanghāti plates cannot be placed, it may be said that it was natural for some Rājās of that time to use the Chola-Ganga era or Samvatsar. The year 288 of this era falls in 1066 A. D. Since what we may reasonably infer from paleographic evidence does not militate against the date 1060 A. D., I am inclined to assign this date to the Bāmanghāti plate of Raṇabhanja I. Some may be dis-

posed to reject this date on the ground of its being based on a supposition, but it will be seen that the uppermost limit of the time of Raṇabhanja I is not far removed from this date.

Eleventh century A. D. being the most likely time when Raṇabhanja I flourished, it may be tentatively held that the 9th century A. D. is the earliest time when a humble beginning of a Rāj was made by Bīrbhadra of uncertain or mysterious origin. One or two historical facts may be cited in support of this suggestion regarding the 9th century as the uppermost limit of the Bhanja rule in Utkala. These facts are in relation to the expansion of the Bhanjas, and their acquisition of a territory in the Ganjam District. We have already seen that Netribhanja of this very Bhanja family established his rule in the wild tracts of Ganjam ; either he or an adventurous ancestor of his must have reached that wild tract by proceeding through the hilly road previously described as extending from Bāmanghāti to the bank of the Mahanadi, for the Bhanjas did not acquire any territory in other parts of Orissa lying either to the east or to the west of this road or a hilly defile called Sailabartma in one record. Then again, we have

seen that in the early part of the seventh century A. D. Narendra Gupta of Karṇasuvarṇa of Bengal reached the district of Puri by proceeding through the aforesaid road or hilly defile and held the Kongada country in subjection; even in Hiuen Tsang's time in the middle of the 7th century A. D. this rule of Narendra Gupta's house does not clearly appear to have been utterly extinguished. Certainly in the seventh century A. D. an independent rule of the Bhanjas near about Bāmanghāti cannot be thought of, as Narendra Gupta and his successors could not have proceeded through there unless the region was within their range of influence. It has also to be noted that when Hiuen Tsang proceeded from Ganjam to the Sambalpur tract of the Kosala Country, he passed through the wild tracts of Kimidi and Gumsur as previously described. This Chinese traveller speaks of the wild character of his whole route and does not mention that there was anything like a civilised settlement anywhere on his way to Kosala. This last argument is no doubt only in favour of non-expansion of the Bhanjas into Ganjam, but it is mentioned to throw some light on the question. We should not forget also

that the careful Chinese traveller who made himself familiar with the whole tract does not speak of any Hinduised settlement in any part of the whole tract of the highlands of Orissa.

Another fact has to be remembered in this connection. The epigraphic records of the early Bhanjas speak wholly of the tract we have described; they proceeded so far as the district of Ganjam in quest of new territory, but did not or rather could not expand either to the east or to the west where they could get far more attractive lands for their prosperity. This shows that at the time of their rule the Bhanjas had mighty neighbours in those rich tracts of the country. How this condition of things points to the earliest Bhanja time to be not earlier than the 9th century, will be shown when the rule of the Kosala Guptas will be narrated.

The Origin of the Bhanjas.—Like all origins, the origin of the old-time Bhanjas is shrouded in mystery. One fact however relating to this origin cannot escape detection: there has been a purposeful mystification by the early Bhanja rulers of the origin of the progenitor of their family. It has been stated that Bīrbhadra, the founder of the Bhanja

Dynasty, was neither connected nor associated with any human family, but sprung up in the very forest of Mayurbhanj by coming out from the egg of a pea-hen. The surname Bhanja has been made due to the fact of Bīrbhadra's coming to the world by *breaking open* an egg in which he was encased. This surname should on that account properly be Mayūrabhanja which has been the name of the kingdom of those rulers. Undoubtedly a very humble (that is to say, a non-Aryan) parentage has been sought to be screened by a gŏt-up story of the nativity of Bīrbhadra, but his blood-connection on the side of either his mother or father with a tribe having *mayūra* for its totem has not been or rather could not be suppressed or effaced owing evidently to a very deeply seated superstitious regard for the family totem. As Bīrbhadra and his descendants have been people of Aryan culture, and as Bīrbhadra is not an immigrant from elsewhere, one is inclined to suppose that a culture-centre created in the Mayurbhanj forest either by the Buddhists or by the Jainas, became a favourable spot for such a miscegenation of blood as could originate an adventurer like Bīrbhadra. That this hero was born at *Koṭṭāsrama*

in a tapovana in the locality is in support of this supposition. I should merely mention in this connection that one section of the Bhuiāns and the Kurmis of this particular locality residing near about Rairangpur in the Bamanghati Sub-division, are reported to honour the pea-cock as a totem, and there is a tradition (recorded in the Settlement Report by late Mr. Srinath Dutt) regarding the Bhuiāns and the Kurmis that at one time they were ruling tribes in that part of the country.

Another fact may be remembered in this connection : all old places of Jaina activities in Orissa and in its neighbouring tracts in the Central Provinces, have been reduced since very long to places of Saiva influence. It is a fact that the descendants of Bīrbhadra of uncertain origin have been Saivas and have described themselves as *parama-māhesvara.* Becoming mighty rulers in one locality the Bhanjas could very easily obtain the support of the Brahmans and could secure the honour befitting a Ksatriya. The pea-cock having long been regarded as an emblem of the Sun, the rājās could be affiliated to the people of the solar race, though in giving the history of their own origin the Bhanjas have

not associated themselves with any known Kṣatriya clan of the solar race. Invariably in all their records of Mayurbhanj as well as of other places the Bhanja rulers have called themselves *aṇḍajavamsa-prabhava*, and yet an orthodox gotra-name has been in the family and this name is Kāśyapa.

The main branch of the Bhanja rulers had very likely Bamanghati for their head-quarters and ruled not only over a considerable portion of the modern State of Mayurbhanj, but in all probability had the wild western portion of Keonjhar under their sway, for traces of their influence are noticeable in Western Keonjhar. Again, the deity from whose name the geographical name Keonjhar has been formed, is still worshipped in the Bamanghati area as the Goddess Kinchikeśvari. The additional portion of the name of the deity consisting of an otiose "K" and Iśvarī is certainly a Hindu device to bring the non-Aryan goddess anyhow into the Hindu pantheon; the real name Kinchi could not be changed perhaps because of local influence but it is now stated by the Brahmans that the word Kinchi is a corruption of Kīchaka and that this goddess was the tutelary deity of non-

Aryan Kīchaka whom Bhima of the Mahabharata story killed. Kinchi for Kīchaka is no doubt untenable, but the Brahminic explanation unmistakably discloses the fact that the deity which has been sought to be aryanised in name belongs to the domain of some non-Aryans.

How Kinchi-ar, the favourite place of Kinchi of the Kurmis, has been converted by some to Kendujhar is interesting to note. Though neither the Kendu tree nor a jhar or hill-stream is especially a characteristic feature of the State of Keonjhar alone, a derivation has been patched up by sheer force of imagination. It may be noted that in Chutia Nagpur where Kendu trees do not occur as a characteristic physical feature, such a village name as Kinjhar or Kenjhar does occur ; this statement is based on the authority of what Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Ray has informed me. I have discussed these petty details for ascertaining as far as possible the influences which were at work in the forgotten past.

Beyond the fact that these Bhanja rulers brought many Brahmans from elsewhere and settled them in their territory by making liberal land gifts, we know almost nothing regarding the

character of the political organization of the Bhanjas or regarding their relation with the rulers of the other parts of the country. Evidently these rulers, secure in their hilly recesses, avoided to come in conflict with the ambitious adventurers in the eastern sea-board tract of Orissa, and thereby 'maintained a dull and uneventful existence from the 9th or 10th century A. D. to 1589 or 1590, when the founder of the present ruling house of Mayurbhanj annexed the Bhanja territory to his Hariharpur Zemindary by ousting Mayūradhvaja—the last representative of the Bāmanghāti Bhanjas.

That these Bhanjas established and maintained the later-time Brahminic form of Aryan culture during a long period of 700 years, and must have made a Northern Indian Vernacular the dominating speech in their territory, cannot but be admitted.

The Southern Branch of the Early Bhanjas.—It has been stated before that a scion of the early Bhanjas founded an independent kingdom in the wild region of the district of Ganjam sometime very likely in the middle of the 11th century A. D. Netribhanja is the name of the earliest ruler of this branch which has hitherto been dis-

covered by the help of one epigraphic record of Gumsur. It cannot be definitely said as to what gap of time exists between Netribhanja and the other rulers of the family whose epigraphic records (5 in number) have been edited and published by me. The method which has been employed to establish approximately the time of the main branch of the Bhanjas will be followed to fix tentatively the time of the second branch under consideration. With the help of known facts of recent time we have to proceed slowly to the unknown past time.

Before however taking up the question of time of these rulers for discussion, some important facts disclosed by their records have to be set out to furnish adequate material to forge links for being connected with the chain of events of a comparatively recent time. For this object four of the five Bhanja records edited and published by me will at first be referred to. The journals in which these 4 records appear are named below: (1) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI; (2) The Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, December, 1916; (3) *Ibid*, June, 1916; and (4) *Ibid*, December, 1920. Those who may feel inclined to check my statements based

on those records, should do well to refer to the pages of the journals noted above.

As to the extent of the Bhanja territory in the south we get this definite information that the rulers were principally the lords of *Ubhaya* (both, *i.e.*, two) *Khinjali or Khinjani Mandala.* Khemḍi or Kimeḍi is no doubt the modern equivalent of Khinjali or Khinjani, and perhaps the expression "two Khinjali Maṇḍalas" indicate that the territory was constituted with Northern Khemḍi (recently divided into Bar-Kimedi and Sān-Kimedi), Parla-Kimedi and the tract which now bears the name Gumsur. The whole of this territory falls outside the seaboard tract of Ganjam. It appears that at the time of Netribhanja and his immediate successors the northern limit of the territory did not extend beyond the present northern boundary of Bar-Kimedi State, and that the open country beyond, extended to the right bank of the Mahanadi, together with the hilly regions of Baud, was acquired at a comparatively subsequent time. The simple reason for this inference is that the rājās of the four charters referred to above described themselves as the feudatories of the rulers of Khinjali Mandalas, when granting

lands to several Brahman families in the State of Baud as well as in the open country on the bank of the Mahanadi. It appears that in those days the State of Baud did not extend to the right bank of the Mahanadi and the high hills or rather mountain-chains of the State formed its northern boundary, for the term *Bauda* (which is really the name with the people) signifies a screen that obstructs the views of things beyond ; a patch of cloud that obstructs the view of the moon is still called *Bauda* in Oriya. Again, the villages granted in the charters, as are now identified to be in the Baud State, have been described to be situated in the Dakṣiṇa tīra of the Sonpur State ; the whole of the portion of the Sonpur State to-day on the right bank of the Mahanadi is still designated as the Dakṣiṇa tīra-khaṇḍa. It should be added here that the influence of the aboriginal Kandha people has always been a dominating factor in the State of Baud.

The next fact of importance is the form of the religious faith of the Bhanjas. It is the unmixed Saiva faith which has already been noticed in all the early Bhanja rulers. This predominating Saiva faith of the family has been

indicated in the 4 records under review, in that the seals attached to the charters bear the figures of a half moon and recumbent bull but it has been declared in all these charters excepting one that the grantor rājās were not only Vaisnavas but were also the worshippers of the Goddess Stambheśvarī. It has been mentioned in the foregoing chapter that the influence of Stambheśvarī is most noticeable in Baud and in its neighbourhood. It is very likely on account of the local influence that the rājās of the charters in question became the worshippers of Stambheśvarī.

That the Vaisnavism of the rājās was a newly acquired element in their faith can be distinctly proved by referring to the charters themselves. Besides the Saiva symbols on the seals of the charters we notice by examining the text that the rājās in declaring their Vaisnavism have not omitted to inscribe those verses in praise of Siva which became customary with their ancestors to inscribe on all charters. The bulk of the text of the charters came down to the rājās from their ancestors, and this main portion of the text is common in all charters. Some portions of this text common to all charters are transcribed below to help us in determining

some questions of importance. It will be noticed in the 3rd line of the 3rd verse transcribed below, that when the text was first composed, the name of the father of the grantor must have contained 3 letters of which the initial and the final were bound to be long and the medial short according to the requirements of the Vasanta-tilakā metre. In setting out the text below, the space required in the 3rd line of the 3rd verse for the insertion of a name has been filled up with the long and short signs of 3 letters. The verses are :

"Samhāra kāla huta bhug = vikarāla ghora
sambhrānta kinkara kritānta nitānta bhinnam
bhinn = Āndhak = āsura mahā gahan = ātapatram
tad bhairavam Hara-vapur = bhavatah
prapātu." (1)

"Durvāra vāraṇa raṇa pratipakṣa pakṣāt
Lakṣmī haṭh = āpaharaṇ = ochchhalita pratāpāh
Bhanja narādhipatayo bahavo vabhūvur =
udbhūtayo = tra bhuvi bhūri sahasra
sankhyāh." (2)

"Teṣām kule sakala bhūtala pāla mauli-
mālār = chit = ānghri yugalo balavān nripo = bhut
Sri—⏑—prakaṭa pauruṣa raśmi chakra
nirdārit = āri hridayo = sya pitā nripasya." (3)

Exactly in the manner of filling up a detail under a particular head in a settled form, various rājās are found to have entered the names of their fathers in the blank space marked out above with signs in the 3rd line of the 3rd verse, without caring to see if the names did fit in correctly without spoiling the metre of the verse. Srī Silābhanja, Srī Satrubhanja and so forth are the ill-fitted names met with in different records in the blank space in question. It has not been possible to exactly determine with what name in the space in question a devoted Saiva ruler of the Bhanja House got the verses composed for him for the first time.

In the Kumurukela Charter of Rānaka Satrubhanja Deva (J. B. O. R. S., December, 1916) the blank space has been filled up by the name Angati, and this name has quite fitted in in the line according to the metre, but it was not in the time of this Satrubhanja that the verses were composed; this Raja Satrubhanja was a Vaisnava, and unlike other rājās even of Vaisnava cult, he has not allowed the aforesaid verses to form the introductory portion of the text; he has given the follow-

ing verse in Aryā metre the place of honour in the text :

"Anavarata bahala pulakam
Lakṣmī kucha pīḍanena duritam vah
Apaharatu surabhi parimala
Suṣaṭpada mūrasthalam Viṣṇoh"

This Satrubhanja calls himself Parama-vaisnava and not Parama-māhesvara and only mechanically inscribes the time-honoured Saiva verses which became customary to be inscribed in the charters. It is also to be noted that there is the customary Saiva symbol of the half moon on the seal, but down the half moon the recumbent figure of bull is wanting. May be that Angati was the name of the father of that ruler at whose instance the verses were first composed, for it is not stated directly in the text that this Angati was the father of the donor Saṭrubhanja. After naming Angati it has not been stated that the donor was his son ; in other records immediately after the completion of the 3rd stanza the name of the donor occurs by prefixing "tasyātmaja." At the completion of the aforesaid verse such other lines have been inscribed as became customary to inscribe in such a document ; and then in an independent

sentence the name of Satrubhanja occurs as meditating upon the feet of his *parents* without there being the mention of their names. This shows that all the three verses as were handed down from generation to generation were only mechanically inscribed. This fact also does not give us the clue as to when the verses were composed and by whom, for no such record is forthcoming as speaks definitely of a donor who is the son of Angati.

This Satrubhanja of Kumurukela Charter who makes the grant of 2 villages in the Uttara tīra of the Sonpur State is a Rānaka (that is to say, not a descendant in the direct line of the ruling chiefs of Khinjali), and accepts, though by implication, the situation of a feudatory of the Khinjali overlords ; he is therefore not to be identified with any of the Satrubhanjas mentioned in three other charters.

Satrubhanja of the charter published by me in E. I., Vol. XI, p. 98, is a son of Silābhanja, and both the father and the son are mentioned as regular rulers of the Khinjali territory. The value of this record is merely this, that it gives the two aforesaid names ; when this record was published by me I could

not suppress my suspicion about the genuineness of the grant, and now by comparing this record with other records under review I can unhesitatingly pronounce that in the name of Satru Bhanja this document was forged by the grantee mentioned in it. It is noticeable however that Rājā Satru Bhanja, son of Silā Bhanja, was known to the people to have accepted the Vaisnava faith. The verses in question were therefore composed previous to their time.

Ranaka Raṇa Bhanja of the Tasapaikera Charter (J. B. O. R. S., June, 1916), who distinctly admits of having been a feudatory of the Khinjali overlords, calls himself a son of Satru Bhanja; clearly enough he was not such a son as could claim to inherit the kingdom of his father. This feudatory Ranaka however seems to have descended from Satru Bhanja mentioned in the spurious charter just now referred to, for, if not contemporary of Satru Bhanja, he was not much removed in time from him, in that the very person who engraved the text on the spurious copper-plates, was the engraver of the copper-plate charter of Ranaka Raṇa Bhanja. Ranaka Raṇa Bhanja of this charter is also a parama-vaisnava, and as such, is not identical

with the parama-māheśvara Ranaka Raṇa Bhanja of the Singhara Charter published by me in J.B.O.R.S. in December, 1920. This Saiva Ranaka Raṇa Bhanja of the Singhara Plates states distinctly that he was made a feudatory ruler by Satru Bhanja, son of Silā Bhanja. He does not mention the name of his father. No doubt this Saiva Raṇa Bhanja was appointed a subordinate ruler in the life-time of Satru Bhanja; it may therefore be inferred that both the Raṇa Bhanjas were of the time of Satru Bhanja, and that one came to office at the death of another, but who came first cannot be definitely stated.

Summary.—We then find on examining all these records, that by about the middle of the 11th century A.D. Netri Bhanja was the ruler of the Bhanja Dynasty in the south and after the lapse of some time a ruler named Angati did flourish, but how this Angati was related to his predecessors or successors has not been determined. We can only know that a good time did elapse after Netri Bhanja's rule, when either in the time of Angati or that of a predecessor of his the verses quoted in this chapter were composed for use in the charters of the family, for it has been mentioned in the verses that

a considerably large number of Bhanja rulers ruled the earth previous to the time of the composition of the text. Angati, Silā Bhanja and his son Satru Bhanja are the names of three rulers which we obtain in the four records just discussed. Now it is relating to the time of the successors of Netri Bhanja down to Satru Bhanja that our inquiry may be directed.

Time of the Khinjali Bhanjas.—Looking to the fact that the Bhanjas of the wild tract of Ganjam had the memory of the rule of the main trunk of their family in Mayurbhanj we may suppose that only a century after the time of Netri Bhanja the Bhanjas of the Ganjam District could very well say that in this world their people reigned at different places and that they were innumerable in number. "Bhūri sahasra saṇkhyā" is the expression that we meet with in the text of all these charters, to express the indefinitely large number of the Bhanja rulers of different parts of the country; "Sahasra"—thousand—has always been in our land an expression to signify an indefinitely large number. That the rule of the feudatory Raṇa Bhanjas and Satru Bhanjas both in the uttara and dakṣiṇa tīras of the Sonpur State could not happen

earlier than the latter half of the 12th century, is perfectly certain, for it may be seen by referring to the charter of Somesvara Deva (published by me in E. I., Vol. XII, p. 237 *et seq.*) that the mighty rule of the Trikalinga Guptas did not terminate in Sonpur at least in the middle of the 12th century A.D. The accounts of the Kośala-*cum*-Trikalinga Guptas will be given in the following chapter, but it may be mentioned here that the territories possessed by those mighty overlords of Orissa could not possibly be trespassed upon by anybody previous to the extinction of their rule by about 1170 A.D. Certainly, the feudatory Bhanjas and their Khinjali overlords could not take possession of any part of the Sonpur State before 1170, but that does not give us an exact time of the rājās of our charters. We get here only the upper limit of the time of Angati, Silā Bhanja and Satru Bhanja who have been mentioned by their feudatories in their charters.

This question of time may now be discussed with the help of other facts. We have shown before that the present ruling house of Baud, tracing its origin from a scion of that new Bhanja family—Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar—

which could not be founded earlier than 1590 A.D., could not possibly be established prior to the middle of the 17th century A.D. It has also been suggested before that the new Baud House came into existence after the extinction of the rule of the Deva Varmans. The record of Yogesvara Deva Varman edited by me in the E.I., Vol. XII, was prepared or issued on Sunday the 9th January, 1508. How long he and his successors reigned is not known, but the grandfather of Yogesvara is recorded in the charter to have commenced his rule 23 years previous to 1508, that is to say, in 1485 A.D.

Deva Varmans.—Yogesvara Deva Varman of the Mahadā Charter, who held Sonpur and the open tract of the Baud State in his possession, was a feudatory ruler, as has been distinctly stated in the charter ; the overlords of Yogesvara, of his father and of his grandfather were in all probability those rulers of Bastar in the Central Provinces who are known to have ruled in Bastar from the eleventh century downwards. Occurrence of many Telugu words in the charter proves that the grandfather of Yogesvara must have proceeded from a Telugu-speaking country. In support of these statements I quote below

very approvingly what Mr. H. Krishna Sastri has written in commenting upon my paper on the Mahadā Charter in the 12th Volume of the Epigraphia Indica. Writes Mr. H. Krishna Sastri :

(1) "The part of the introductory eulogy commencing with *aridurdhara* and ending with *nātha* occurs also in records of the Telugu-Cholas and in that of Chandrāditya Deva of Bastar (see Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908-9, p. 112 and E.I., Vol. XI, p. 343, n. 3)."

(2) "The lion-banner of Chandrāditya of Bastar, and the country of Vaḍḍa-nāṇḍu (evidently Baudh as stated in the Annual Report quoted above) clearly show that the chiefs mentioned in the Mahadā Plates were the lineal descendants of Chandrāditya who was a feudal chief of the Nāgavamśi king Dhārāvarṣa of Bastar in the 11th century A.D."

(3) "(*a*) The reading *Kali Kāla* in line 1 refers to the mythical Chola King Kari Kāla and not to the Kali-age ; (*b*) *Vuṅa* at the end of the line 10 is vu (bu) lu—the Telugu plural termination ; (*c*) in line 11 for Kachū, etc., read *iruvaimuṅdu*, which signifies 23." [My reading "33" should be and has been corrected now.]

In the 7th line of the text on the 1st plate of the Mahadā Plates (E.I., XII, 220) it has been mentioned that Somesvara Deva Varman, the grandfather of Yogesvara Deva Varman, became the lord of Baud after extirpating enemies (*i.e.*, the then holders of the country) by snatching away from them their banner which bore the emblem of Puṇḍarīka or lotus. "Satru-dhvaja-pundarīkākarṣaka" is the expression that occurs in the plates. It has been shown that the Bhanja rulers and their feudal chiefs who at one time got into the possession of Baud and Sonpur, had the half-moon over a recumbent bull for their family emblem, and *not a lotus.* Lotus again was exactly the emblem of a pseudo-Bhanja Dynasty which once came to rule Baud and some portion of Sonpur (*vide* my paper on Kanaka Bhanja in J.B.O.R.S., September, 1916).

Some pseudo-Bhanjas.—In editing the charter of Kanaka Bhanja in the journal just referred to above, I have shown that it is a new line of kings which Kanaka Bhanja represents and that this line of rulers comes between the Khinjali Bhanjas and the Deva Varmans of the Mahadā Plates. Some facts of importance in this connection must be noticed here.

It has to be observed that Kanaka Bhanja, son of Durjjaya Bhanja and grandson of Solana Bhanja, does not trace the origin of his family to the egg of a pea-hen (as has been invariably done by all the Bhanjas hitherto noticed), but states in a vague and general way that the Bhanjas in olden days descended from Kāśyapa *Muni*. Not only does he not connect himself with the Bhanjas of Kimedi, but states that of the numerous families of the Bhanjas his family at Baud is one, and it starts in the capacity of a ruling family with his grandfather Solana Bhanja. This is why this line of the Bhanjas has been designated as a pseudo-Bhanja line by me. It has to be noted again that the symbols appearing on the seals of the charters of the Khinjali Bhanjas are wanting in the charter of Kanaka Bhanja, and it is the new emblem of a lotus which forms the seal of the plates of Kanaka Bhanja. It becomes evident therefore that the rājās who were ousted by Somesvara Deva Varman, the grandfather of Yogesvara Deva Varman, by about 1485, were the descendants of Kanaka Bhanja.

The family of Kanaka Bhanja cannot certainly be associated directly with the Bhanja

family of Kimedi, but it is difficult to say by about which time Solana Bhanja, the grandfather of Kanaka Bhanja, came into power by effacing the rule of Kimedi Bhanjas in Baud where the plates of Kanaka Bhanja have been discovered. It becomes pretty clear from the charters of the feudal Ranaka chiefs of the Kimedi-Bhanjas that when the charters were issued, the feudal chiefs were in secure enjoyment of their territory by a continued long possession. It has been stated already that the aforesaid feudal chiefs could not become masters of their new territory earlier than 1170 or thereabout ; if it is supposed that the Kimedi Bhanjas embraced the earliest opportunity to annex Baud and Sonpur to their territory and became the lords of their territory by about 1170, it cannot but be held that the rule of the feudal Ranaka chiefs extended almost to the middle of the 13th century A.D. Without putting in definite dates regarding the termination of the Kimedi-Bhanja rule in Baud and regarding the commencement of the rule of Solana Bhanja and his successors, we may assert only in a general manner that Kimedi rule in Baud came to an end towards the end of the 13th century A.D. and Solana Bhanja and his

successors ruled that territory from that time forth to 1485 A.D. The long time of 150 years that has been assigned to the rule of the pseudo-Bhanjas will not be considered perhaps very long, for besides the three rulers named in the Kanaka Bhanja Charter, we must hold that some weak successors of Kanaka Bhanja must have ruled the country previous to 1485 which is the date of Somesvara Deva Varman. To avoid running the risk of falling into serious error the dates relating to the Bhanja rulers of different times have been given by naming centuries; but as this has not been done with much indefiniteness, the readers, I hope, will not feel confused to form clear notions regarding the time of the early Bhanjas.

Chapter VII

THE KOSALA GUPTAS

(The Makers of Orissa)

It is well-known to the students of Indian history that the modern districts of Bilaspur and Raipur, which principally constitute to-day

the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces, formed in ancient time the kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Kosalá, and several ruling houses presided over the destinies of the people of that kingdom at various times. Some abbreviated accounts of this kingdom are available in the District Gazetteers of Bilaspur and Raipur.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that the Sambalpur Tract was once a part of this kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Kosala and that from the very day Sambalpur was organized as a British district to the middle of October, 1905, this tract was included in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.

It has also been described previously how the Sambalpur Tract which adjoins the present-day Chhattisgarh Division is connected with the district of Raipur by the river Mahanadi. What Mr. C. Wills writes in the J. B. A. S. for 1919 regarding the physical aspect of Chhattisgarh may very appropriately be referred to here. Chhattisgarh, writes Mr. Wills, a great inland basin drained by the Upper Mahanadi and its tributaries, is the easternmost division of the Central Provinces.

Now by referring to 11 copper-plate charters issued by or under the ægis of some rulers whose names alternate between Mahāśiva Gupta and Mahābhava Gupta, we learn that at one time the Sambalpur Tract having been separated from and independent of the main stem of the Kosala country composed of the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur, assumed the name of Kosala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala, and the rulers referred to designated themselves as lords of Kosala as well as of the Trikalinga country. It suggests to one very naturally that these rulers who were keen in the matter of retaining the name Kosala to the tract of country which was severed from the real country of Kosala and were very particular in assuming the title Kosalendra in addition to their glorious title Trikalingādhipati, had perhaps once such an intimate relation with a ruling house of the main Kosala country that it became a matter of feeling with them to retain the name Kosala in the manner they did.

This induces us to look up the records of the rulers of Bilaspur-*cum*-Raipur of a date anterior to the time of the Haihayas of Ratanpur. We do not at first look into the Haihaya records

first because the Haihayas differ altogether from the Kosala Guptas of the epigraphic records of Sambalpur in race and gotra, and secondly because the Haihayas, as their records show, confined themselves wholly to the limits of Bilaspur-*cum*-Raipur, and only occasionally in a fitful way made some expeditions into territories lying to the east of their dominion.

Some inscriptions discovered at Rajim and its neighbourhood in the district of Raipur give us some facts relating to a dynasty of rulers beginning with Udayana, coming of the Lunar race and reigning in the Kosala country which had then the town of Sirpur for its capital. It has to be distinctly noted that Sirpur (Srīpura of the record of Tīvara Deva) is about 40 miles east by north from Raipur, and Rajim is a town on the right bank of the Mahanadi river, about 24 miles to the south-east of Raipur in the Central Provinces.

Tīvara Deva claiming to be of Pāṇḍu lineage of the Lunar race declares in his Rajim Grant (F. I., p. 291) that his second name (required to be adopted on assumption of royalty) was *Mahāsiva*, and the names of his father and

grandfather were Nanna Deva and Indrabala respectively. Again it is obtained in a Sirpur Inscription that *Udayana* was the father of Indrabala, the grandfather of Tīvara Deva. This *Udayana* has been rightly identified with Udayana whom Pallavamalla Nandivarman of Peninsular India once conquered, captured and released again by about 735 A. D. Following the reading of the inscriptions by Cunningham, I stated previously elsewhere that Udayana was by descent a Savara; Mr. Hira Lal has now conclusively proved that the word Sasadhara of the inscription was mis-read by Cunningham as Savara. It is undoubted that if even Udayana had a non-Aryan origin, either he or a successor of his could not or would not declare the fact of his humble origin consistently with his claim upon the proud Lunar race. This fact, however, cannot be and should not be ignored that the Kosala country we have been taking notice of, was a country of Savara predominance. It is perhaps on this account that Udayana has been called a "Sabhara" chieftain in the accounts of the deeds of Pallavamalla Nandivarman.

Referring to the date Circa 735 as the

time of Nandivarman's expedition, 800 A. D. has been fixed by some scholars as the approximate date of the commencement of the reign of Tīvara Deva who was also Mahāśiva by name. In all probability Tīvara Mahāśiva was succeeded for a short time by his brother, for when Bālārjuna, the son of Tīvara's brother, assumed the rule, he became a *Mahāsiva Gupta*. It has to be noted that the mother of Bālārjuna was a princess of the Gupta family of Magadha.

How long Bālārjuna's son reigned after the death of his father, has not been ascertained; on the other hand, it appears from the Sarabhapur Inscriptions that another ruling house came into power for a short time, by ousting the sons of Bālārjuna from the district of Raipur. It has been ascertained that the rulers of Sarabhapur had no sway over the Sambalpur Tract and their kingdom only extended from Bilaspur to Khariār which is now a zemindary to the south-west of Bolangir Patna.

Now that the Sambalpur Tract was a part of the Kosala country and that tract did not come under the rule of the Sarabhapur Rājās who ousted the sons of Bālārjuna from Sirpur,

it may be strongly supposed that the eldest son of Balārjuna Mahāśiva Gupta could and did retain for himself this tract of Sambalpur and did not cease to call himself the chief of the Kosala country. This supposition is very strongly supported by the facts disclosed by the Sambalpur Copper-plate Charters mentioned above.

Before discussing in detail all the important facts of the charters of the Kosala Guptas of Sambalpur only the following leading facts disclosed by those charters may be very briefly set out. The earliest copper-plate charter hitherto discovered is that of Janamejaya. This Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta was a Mahārāja and was the son of Rājā Mahāśiva Gupta. Yayāti Mahāśiva Gupta is the name of the son of Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta, and Yayāti's son was Bhimaratha Mahābhava Gupta. They have all described themselves as lords of Kosala (Kośalendra), and belonging to the Lunar race (Somakulatilaka). The assertion of Cunningham must therefore be accepted as quite correct that this dynasty of rulers came of the ruling house of Sirpur which ruled Dakṣiṇa Kosala for full six generations.

As the names of the kings of this Lunar Dynasty alternate between Mahāśiva Gupta and Mahābhava Gupta, the father of Janamejaya who is distinctly recorded to have been a Mahāśiva Gupta was no doubt the son of one Mahābhava Gupta, but we cannot definitely say if the grandfather of Janamejaya was that son of Bālārjuna Mahāśiva Gupta who was ousted from Sirpur and would have become a Mahābhava Gupta if he could reign in his paternal kingdom. Looking to other facts relating to the time of the Sambalpur Guptas (some of which have already been noticed and others will be noticed presently), it may be said that if Bālārjuna of Sirpur was not the great-grandfather of Janamejaya, not more than two more generations of rulers could come between the ousted son of Bālārjuna and the father of Janamejaya. We know that the Haihayas of the Chedi Country pushed forward the frontier of their territory very considerably by the beginning of the tenth century A.D., and from Amarakantaka to a point beyond the Hasdo in the vicinity of the Upper Mahanadi Plains the bulk of the Kosala Country came under the rule of the Haihayas. It has been said that the

Guptas of Sirpur were ousted by the Rajas of Sarabhpur who are known to have ruled for only a short period previous to the advent of the Haihayas in Kosala. Consequently the Sarabhpur Dynasty came in power some time previous to the tenth century A.D. We know definitely of only two rulers of the Sarabhpur Dynasty and if we for safety's sake suppose that about two more kings flourished in that dynasty, we can assign some 60 years only to the rule of the Sarabhpur Rajas. The facts mentioned in the "Bilaspur Gazetteer" do not justify us to grant a longer time to the rule of the Rajas of Sarabhpur.

Making allowance for a decade this way or that way we may hold that the middle of the ninth century A.D. must be the time when the rule of the Sirpur Guptas came to an end. This time tallies exactly with what has been said regarding the date of Udayana and of Udayana's great-grand-son Tīvaradeva Mahaśiva.

Janamejaya's Date.—We shall not then be far wrong if we hold in view of the above facts that the *ninth century did not expire* when Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta, the father of Yayāti Mahāśiva Gupta, set up an independent kingdom

of his own in which the Sambalpur Tract was included.

The epigraphic records, which will have to be laid under contribution now to set forth other facts of historical importance, are named here to enable the readers to refer to them easily. They are : (1) A Charter of Janamejaya edited by myself, E.I., Vol. XI, p. 93 ; (2—5) Four charters of Janamejaya edited by Fleet, E. I., Vol. III, pp. 341 *et seq.* ; (6) Satalma Charter of Janamejaya, E.I., Vol. VIII., pp. 138—43 ; (7) Charter of Yayāti edited by me, J.B.O.R.S., 1916 ; (8) Charter of Yayāti edited by Fleet, E.I., Vol. III, p. 351 ; (9) Charter of Yayāti edited by me, E.I., Vol. XI, p. 95 ; (10) Bhīmaratha's Charter edited by Fleet, E. I., Vol. III, p. 355 ; (11) Someśvara's Charter edited by me, E.I., Vol. XII, p. 237.

Of the 11 records noted above Nos. 1, 7, 9 and 11 were unearthed in the Feudatory State of Sonpur, and just after their discovery I obtained them from the Ruling Chiefs of Sonpur for deciphering and editing them. It is unmistakable, as I showed when editing them, that they were issued by the grantors residing in the State of Sonpur and that they all relate to villages most

of which retain to-day the very names which these old records disclose.

The record No. 6 was discovered at Satalma in the district of Sambalpur; the record first came to my hand but owing to some mistake on the part of Mr. Slocock, the then Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, it was sent away with my translation and transliteration to the Nagpur Museum. It was afterwards edited by Mr. Laskar in the "Epigraphia Indica." This record also relates to the very village Satalma (called Satallamā in the plates) where it was unearthed and was issued from Mursimā—the modern Mursing in the Jarasiṅga Zemindary in the Feudatory State of Patna, within a short distance from the village Satalma.

Of the other six charters obtained in the Government Record-room at Cuttack, it is fortunately on record that charter No. 2 which was also issued from the victorious camp of the grantor pitched at Mursimā, was unearthed in the Feudatory State of Patna and was sent to Cuttack from Sambalpur. The village Vakaveḍḍā on the River Ongā as mentioned in this record cannot but be other than the modern village Bakebira which is near the Police Station

Salebhata on the River Ong. The writer of the record is Koi Ghoṣa, son of Vallabha Ghoṣa, who is exactly the person mentioned in record No. 1 as the writer thereof. Sangrāma Ojhā, the engraver of the copper-plate charter, is also the engraver of the Satalma Plates. The text is said to have been composed by the son of Mallādhāra Datta and the name of this very person occurs in other grants the find-place of which has not been kept on record. Of the Brahman grantees of Vekaveḍḍā one is mentioned to have been the original resident of Loiśringā which is no other than the village Luisinga in the neighbourhood of Salebhata. The second Brahman grantee is said to have been the original resident of Khaṇḍa Kṣetra having migrated there from Oḍayaśringa. Oḍayaśringa which is modern Oḍsinga is in the Native State of Atmallik, and the State of Atmallik adjoins the State of Sonpur exactly where the pargana or viṣaya of *Khandahata* in Sonpur lies. I identify therefore the village Khaṇḍa Kṣetra of the record with modern Khaṇḍahatā in Sonpur. I should also mention that this Khaṇḍa Kṣetra is mentioned in the Satru Bhanja Charter which was unearthed in the Sonpur State at a place

not very far off from Kotsamlai and Khaṇḍahatā and was edited by me in the E.I., Vol. XI. The home of the third Brahman grantee was at Lipatungā which is very likely Nupursinga in the Sonpur State and which has also perhaps been mentioned in another record as Nuputtarā Khaṇḍa. It is to be noted that the fourth Brahman grantee came to the State of Patna from the Kalinga Country and his name Koṇḍa Deva seems to be Telugu in form.

Like the record No. 2 above, the records Nos. 3, 4 and 5 must have been sent to the record-room at Cuttack by some officer of Sambalpur, for they, like the other records noticed above, relate not only to the Kosala Country but also to villages which can be identified in the Sambalpur Tract. That the text of them was composed by Malla Datta has been distinctly mentioned in them. These three records, as Dr. Fleet has rightly remarked, form a tri-phalī-tāmra-śāsana or one set of three connected charters, in which villages situate at three different parts of the Kosala Country were granted by Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta to his Brahman minister Sādhāraṇa. In one charter the villages granted are Raṇḍā and Ālāṇḍalā falling within

the viṣaya of Povā (modern Poā in the State of Sonpur), in the other the name of the village granted is Arkigrāma in the Tulumva Khaṇḍa, and in the third the name of the granted village is Tuleṇḍā which is in all likelihood the modern village of Tulunda lying only within a few miles from the big village of Poā. Tulumva or Turumva which is modern Turum is now on the border of the State of Sonpur and is included in the British District of Sambalpur ; between the cultivated fields of the villages of Turum and Arigram (identified with Arkigrāma) flows the tiny River Jira. It has been recited in the text that the grantor issued the charters when he was residing in his "ārāma" ; "ārāma-samāvāsita" is the word in the text. Where this noted ārāma was, the very mention of which at the date of the issue of the records could signify a particular place, may now be conclusively shown to have been in the town of Sonpur itself. It will be seen by referring to the record No. 7 above, that Raja Yayāti, son of the grantor of these records, issued the Māranja-Murā Charter while residing in the *Vihār-Arāma* close to the town of Suvarṇapura or Sonpur, on the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Tel ; "Mahā-

nadī-Telā-sangama" are the words in the text to point out the situation of the Vihār-Arāma.

As to the record No. 8, it will suffice to say that it was issued from Vinītapura on the Mahanadi which has already been identified with Binika in the Sonpur State. The charter No. 10 issued by Bhīmaratha, son of Yayāti, was also issued from that town on the Mahanadi which was the principal seat of his father and has on that account been called Jajāti-nagara. This name Jajāti-nagara has not now been retained either by the town of Sonpur or by the town of Binika. It should be mentioned here that the place-names excepting Jajāti-nagara mentioned in the charters are names of places in the Sonpur State.

It is noteworthy that all the epigraphic records (hitherto discovered and published) of the Kosala Guptas who uniformly describe themselves as Parama-Māheśvara Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Somakulatilaka Tri-Kalingādhipati, relate to the geographical area which may now be fitly described as the Sambalpur Tract. When we take into consideration the various dates on which the charters of Janamejaya and Yayāti were issued, we find that

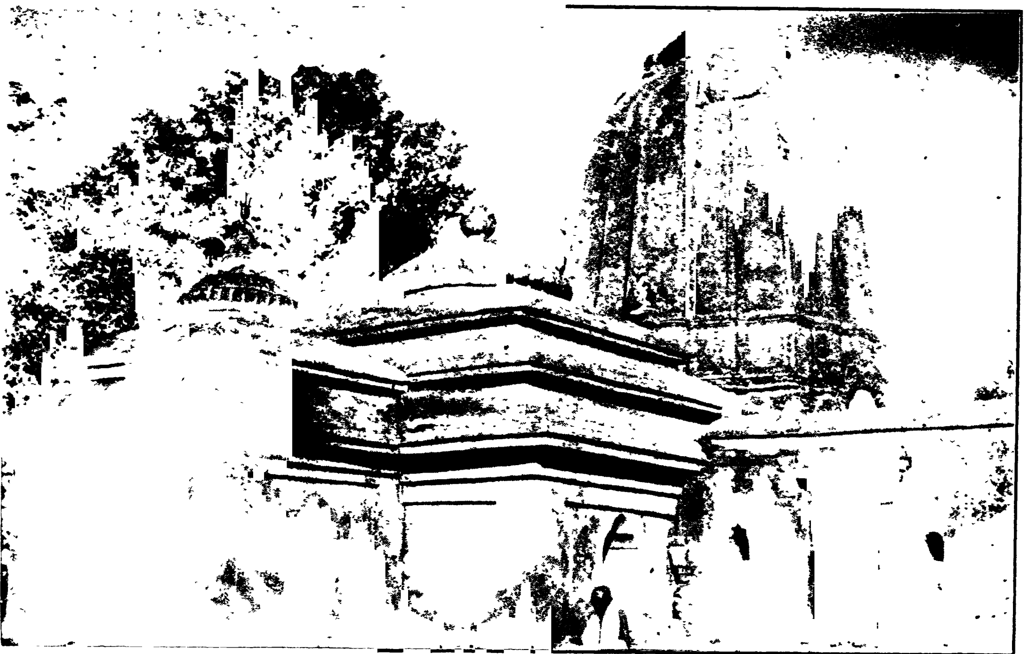
both these rulers were constantly present in the Sambalpur Tract during their long reign, and resided principally in the Feudatory State of Sonpur. We get no doubt distinct and definite reference in the charters of Yayāti and his son Bhīmaratha that both of them had to entrust the rule of the Kosala Country to their capable and trusted ministers, to go out perhaps to exercise directly their influence as overlords in the Tri-Kalinga Country, but this very reference argues strongly in favour of the supposition that they made Kosala their principal home. We shall presently see how this supposition is strongly confirmed by the accounts of the Chola invaders who, with a view to successfully establish their influence over Orissa, had to traverse the rude tract of "Oḍra Viṣaya" to meet the rulers of Dakṣina Kosala in their contest. We point out here the manner in which Suvarṇapura or Sonpur has been mentioned in the charters under consideration to signify its importance.

Sonpur the Original Capital of the Kosala Guptas.—Māranja-Murā Charter (noted above as record No. 7) which was issued in the third year of the reign of Yayāti Mahāśiva Gupta registers the fact that his seat at Sonpur was a

Pattana. As to the true significance of the term, I refer the readers to my article—Notes on Some Pali Words—in the J.R.A.S. (Bombay Branch) for 1909. "Pattana" from which the term Patna has been derived meant originally such a port town on the confluence of some rivers which had a royal seat. This is why the old Pāṭaliputra (or Pali-putto of the common parlance of the olden times) got the name Patna being situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son. It will be found on the map that the present town of Sonpur stands exactly where it did during the days of Yayāti and his father, namely, on the confluence of the Tel (Telā of this record) and the Mahanadi (Plate I, ll. 2-3). It was, therefore, a fit place to be called a Pattana, for in the first place the town is on the confluence of two rivers and in the second place it was made a place for royal residence. As neither the old capital of the Feudatory State of Patna nor any portion of that State is on the confluence of some rivers, I strongly suspect that Sonpur was the capital of the portion of territories of the Gupta Rajas we are dealing with which may be identified with the whole of the Sambalpur Tract including the State of Patna, and that perhaps



Sangam on the confluence of the Tel and the Mahanadi



Rameswar Temple

when the Rajas of some subsequent time cherishing the tradition of these days lost the Sonpur area and had to be satisfied with the possession of the area covered by the Patna State, they gave the name Pattana attached to the Sonpur town to the capital of the limited area.

It has been shown that the founders of the new dynasty of the Kosala Guptas cannot be placed later than the earlier part of the tenth century A.D.; now that Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta, son of a Raja Mahāśiva Gupta, ruled for not less than 31 years, and in the third year of his rule Yayāti Mahāśiva Gupta issued his Māranja-Murā Charter, it may be asserted that the date of the Māranja-Murā Charter cannot be later than the middle of the 10th century A.D. It is therefore very interesting to note that the spot on which the royal pavilion stood at the time of issuing the charter, bears even to-day the unmistakable sign of there having been a Vihār-Arāma and many Devāyatanas or temples. The groves of trees now existing may not be very old, but this spot at the east end of the town has never been the homestead land of the people of the town. There are also many temples there, though it cannot be said with

certainty if they are the very temples named in the fourth line of the first plate; there is even now on the spot the temple of the Goddess Bhagavatī mentioned in the charter, but she has not got to-day her additional title Panchāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā.

As the lord of Tri-Kalinga, Yayāti names the three divisions of his sea-board territory distinctly and specifically by the names Utkala, Kongada (already shown to have been the old name of the district of Puri) and Kalinga. How far his territorial authority extended in the Kalinga Country, cannot be ascertained; very likely in those days of Chola power, the Kalinga portion of the Gupta rulers was comprised of the district of Ganjam.

To get some idea of the relation of the conflict that existed between the Cholas and Kosala Guptas, some other facts disclosed by the epigraphic records of the time should be discussed here. It was by about the end of the ninth century A.D. that the rule of the Sirpur rulers of the house of Udayana, Tīvara Deva and Bālārjuna came to an end in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur. We have suggested that the son of Bālārjuna who was ousted from

Sirpur is the grandfather of Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta, and he it was who retained for his family that eastern portion of Dakṣiṇa Kosala which may be called the Sambalpur Tract. It may be inferred from the inscriptions of Bhava Deva published by Kielhorn (J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 617—629) that even before the extinction of the rule of the dynasty headed by Udayana, some scions of the family established their rule at different places in Northern India. The assumption of the title of Keśarin by Bhava Deva has also to be noted in this connection.

Relation of Vanga with Kosala and Tri-Kalinga.—It is again disclosed by the Māranja-Murā Charter that the ruler of Vanga as distinguished from Rāḍha and Gauḍa was in those days a descendant of the Sirpur rulers.

This highly important fact has to be very carefully noticed, and it is in connection with this that the conflict that subsisted between the Kosala Guptas and the Cholas may be ascertained to a certain extent.

It is impossible to say with the help of the historical material now available, whether it was Janamejaya or his father Mahāśiva who

first conquered Tri-Kalinga comprised of Utkala, Kongada and Kalinga, or whether in the conquest of Tri-Kalinga the Kosāla Guptas received any help from the ruler of Vanga who has been declared in the Māranja-Murā Charter to be of the family of the Kosala Guptas. The statement, however, of Yayāti regarding the king of Bengal is highly interesting. Next to the imprecatory verses in the charter relating to the gift of the villages by Yayāti in his own kingdom, appears the following couplet of which the last word consisting of five letters, standing as an appellation to Yayāti is not decipherable :

Asmad Vangānvaye kāle yah kaśchit Nripatirbhabet
Tasyāham pādarajosmi Yayātih——⏑——⏑——

The couplet means: Whoever will become king in future in Bengal in our Vangānvaya or Bengal line, the dust of his feet am I, Yayāti. The true significance of this expression of honour and loyalty is not easy to determine. Again, it is not easy to see whether by becoming an adopted son or a son-in-law a scion of the family in question could once come to rule in Bengal. It is, however, pretty certain that

Rājā Yayāti had been with his force in Bengal to lend military help to the king of Bengal in repelling an attack or attacks of the invaders from Gurjara, Lāṭa, *Karnāta* and *Kānchi*, from the provinces of Raḍha and Gauḍa as mentioned in the third line of the second plate. It has also been stated there that *his body was purified by the stormy wind raised in Radha and Gauda and his lustre shone like purna-chandra or full moon in Bengal.* It is clear from the nature of the mention that Yayāti did not go into Bengal for a conquest ; he by his deed became illustrious, is what has been mentioned.

It has again to be noted that it was not likely that Yayāti proceeded to Bengal to oust the Southerners from that country, for the route of the Southerners lay through Orissa. Very likely Yayāti led his military force into Bengal in connection with the expedition of the Westerners into that country, and mention of Karṇāṭa and Kānchi along with Lāṭa and Gurjara signifies merely that at different times Yayāti had to come in conflict with the forces of the countries named in one and the same line of the charter.

The Cholas and the Kosala Guptas.—The Cholas as well as other Andhra rulers attempted

at various times from the eighth century onward to get a footing in Orissa, and therefore it is difficult to say what particular incidents of which time have been alluded to by Janamejaya and Yayāti in their charters when referring to their conflict with the Southerners. The charters disclose a peaceful possession by those rulers of the whole empire consisting of Kosala and Tri-Kalinga. We notice in the charters that Brahman families were being brought from Kalinga and Oḍra (or Kongada) for settling them in the Kośala Country. Consequently their occasional conflict with the Southerners must be of a date earlier than the time of Rājarāja the Great, that is to say, earlier than the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

We refer here to that well-ascertained time when the Cholas in their attempt to conquer some northern countries passed through Orissa and held at times a loose sovereignty over Orissa or Oḍra Viṣaya. We learn from the inscriptions of Rājarāja the Great, *alias* Rājakesari Varman Chola Deva, that he conquered the Kalinga Country including Orissa towards the end of the tenth century A.D. His son Rājendra Chola led his conquering expedition into

Bengal, established his overlordship in Orissa and proceeded against the Somavamśī Guptas in Kosala Country by traversing the rude and hilly tract of Orissa. Though it is admitted on all hands that these Chola Rajas did not or rather could not establish their sway over Orissa, it is hardly likely that these incidents took place during the rule of either Janamejaya or Yayāti; the time seems to be later than the date of even Bhīmaratha.

It appears however to be pretty certain that the successors of Bhīmaratha Mahābhava Gupta maintained a shaky overlordship over Orissa during the latter half of the 10th century A. D. We learn from Southern India Inscriptions that in 1070 A. D. Rajendra Chola II, or Rājakesarī Varman, who subsequently assumed the title Kulottanga Chola Deva, deposed Parākesarī Varman of the regular Chola line and seized the Chola crown. This Chola king overran the whole of the Tri-Kalinga Country even though he could not secure any permanent footing in Orissa.

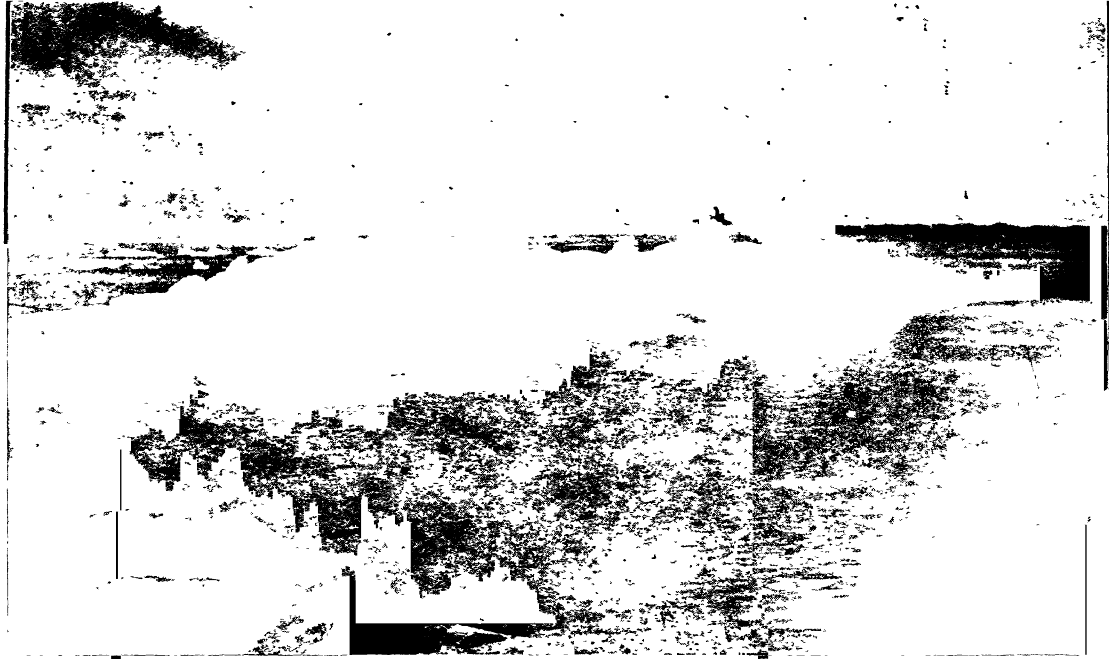
Bhubaneshwar Inscriptions of Uddyota and Kolāvatī and the Sonpur Plates of Kumāra Somesvára Deva (edited by me in E. I., Vol. XII,

pp. 237 *et seq.*) may be relied upon to hold that the Kosala Guptas did not cease to rule over Orissa and Kosala from 1070 A. D. to the early part of the 12th century A. D. though their situation must have been precarious. Brahmeśvara Inscriptions at Bhubaneshwar give us the early part of the 12th century A. D. as the time when Uddyota of the line of the Kosala Guptas continued to hold some regnal authority in Orissa, though perhaps his position was insecure and insignificant. The charter of Kumāra Someśvara Deva informs us that the Kosala Country was wholly allowed to be governed by some governors while the weak overlords were residing in the sea-board tract of Orissa to govern that portion of the country directly. Perhaps this was how the administration was being maintained from the time of Bhīmaratha onward, for it has been distinctly mentioned in the charter of Bhīmaratha Mahābhava Gupta that the government of the Kosala Country was entrusted to some ministers. As the rule of the Kosala Guptas wholly terminated during the early years of the 12th century A. D., some detailed account of the charter of Kumāra Someśvara Deva should be set out to depict the political situation of the time.

Kosala ruled by the Governors.—The charter of Kumāra Someśvara Deva, issued from the town of Sonpur, mentions the name of Parama Māheśvara Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Somakulatilaka Tri-Kalingādhipati Srī Mahābhava Gupta Rāja Deva at starting, but there is nothing specific there to determine either the time of this ruler or his position in the series of the Mahābhava Guptas. It has not also been specified what relation subsisted between this Mahābhava Gupta and Uddyota of the 12th century A.D. It is quite evident that the Kosala Country, within which the Sonpur State was still then included, and of which Sonpur was still then the capital, was being governed by the governors of the Guptas, for the whole tract of the Kosala Country is mentioned to have been granted (prasādīkrita) by Uddyota to one Abhimanyu Deva ; we also learn that Kumarādhirāja Someśvara Deva of the Lunar race was the minor lord of Kosala residing at Sonpur then designated by the name Paśchima-Lanka. How this Kumāra Someśvara was either directly or indirectly connected with the Lunar race of the Guptas has not been stated in this charter. As to the name Paśchima-Lanka, a

word may be added. The people of Sonpur know it by tradition that once the town of Sonpur bore this name Paśchima-Lanka, though it is uncertain when such a name was given to the town. A rock in the bed of the Mahanadi within a stone's throw from the palace of the present Maharaja is called Lankeśvarī, and this Lankeśvari has been referred to as Lankāvarttaka in the Mahadā Copper-plates of Yogeśvara Deva Varman. The Ratanpur Stone Inscriptions of Jājalla Deva mention the fact that this Jājalla Deva of the Haihaya Dynasty defeated the Raja of Andhra-Kimedy as well as a neighbouring Raja, Someśvara by name. I am inclined to identify the latter with the Someśvara of this grant, as Jājalla Deva's expedition took place in the 12th century and Kimedy (as has been shown before) is quite in the neighbourhood of Sonpur.

No doubt the overlordship of the rulers whose names alternate between Mahābhava Gupta and Mahāsiva Gupta has been acknowledged in the charter under discussion, but the seal attached to the charter shows that for the emblems of old Kosala Guptas new emblems were substituted. This should be pointed out because of its historical significance.

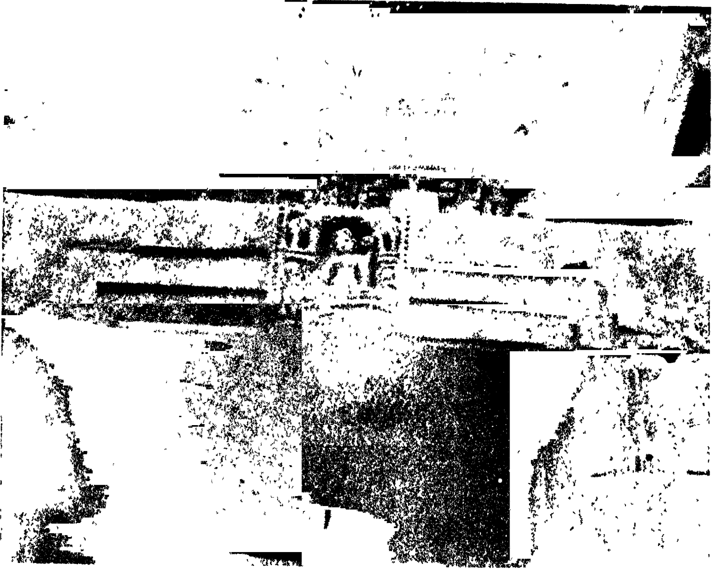


Lankesvarī Rock

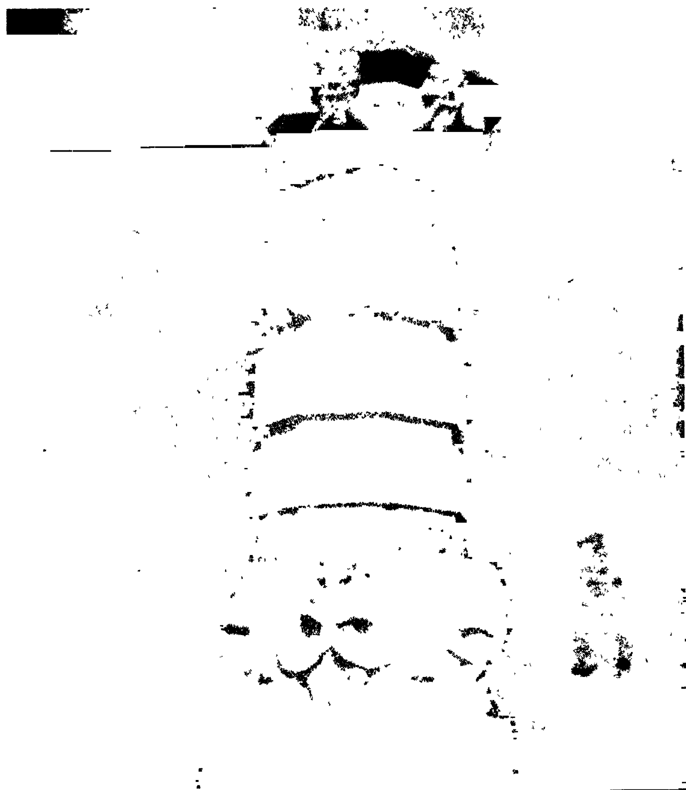
The Seals New and Old.—As is usual with other charters referred to in this chapter, a circular ring passes through the plates of this charter and this ring is secured by a seal at the top. This seal does not contain any legend and unlike the seal of the old-time rulers (to be described presently) has been fashioned in the shape of a lotus. The inner side of the seal is hollow; the lower external ring of the seal consists of 15 petals. On the top surface there is a seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee within the enclosure of a blossoming creeper. The figure seems to represent a goddess, and if so, she is the representation of Laksmī. I may state, however, that the posture indicating peaceful meditation is hardly consistent with the figure of any goddess.

Mātangi Mahā-Laksmī.—I proceed to describe now the character of the seal attached to the charter of the older Kosala Guptas. All the charters of the Kosala Guptas hitherto discovered contain three plates of four sides and are strung together on a circular ring 3½ inches in diameter and ½ inch in thickness. The ring passes through circular holes bored through the left margins of the plates, and its ends are secured in a lump of

copper the upper surface of which may be fitly described as an oval-shaped seal. This seal bears *the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk.* The goddess, therefore, is undoubtedly the representation of Mātangī or Kamalā of the Daśa-Mahāvidyās. This Mātangī Kamalātmikā is no doubt called Mahā-Lakṣmī, but she should not be confounded with the Goddess Laksmī. This goddess was undoubtedly the household goddess of the Kosala Guptas and her representation on the seals indicated directly the authority of the rulers. Kumāra Someśvara has been spoken of as belonging to the Lunar race of the earlier rulers, but it is a patent fact that he departed from the custom which once obtained in the ruling house of the Kosala Guptas. The temple of *Kosalesvara* at Vaidyanath on the Tel River in the Sonpur State bears on the arch of the gateway a very beautiful representation of this Mātangī Mahā-Lakṣmī, and this representation is strikingly similar to what we meet with on the seals of the early Kosala Guptas. I am inclined to hold that this temple of Kosalesvara was built at a time when the goddess described



Mātangī Mahā-Lakṣmī



The Pillar in the Kosaleśvara Temple

above was being specifically honoured in the State of Sonpur. In no other temple this figure appears and this figure ceases to be represented on the seals of the Rajas in the 12th century A.D.

This Mātangī Mahā-Lakṣmī has not been honoured in any temple in Orissa and the building of any temple in Orissa by Janamejaya, Yayāti and Bhīmaratha has not been referred to in any hitherto-discovered charters of the rulers. The temple of Bhubaneshwar was very likely constructed during the rule of the Guptas of Kosala-*cum*-Tri-Kalinga, but the non-mention of the construction of such a huge edifice of great importance leads me to think that the *Krittivasa-Ksettra* at Bhubaneshwar came into existence at a time not earlier than the middle of the 10th century A.D.

Relation of Bengal with Kosala-cum-*Tri-Kalinga.*—It has been shown above how King Yayāti had intimate relation with the Kings of Bengal. The disclosure of this relation in the Māranja-Murā Charter makes it easy to understand how Bengali Kayasthas could come into the service of the Rajas of this dynasty. What I had stated regarding the presence of the

Bengali Kayasthas in Kosala before I discovered the Māranja Murā Charter is reproduced below because of the historical and ethnic significance of the matter.

King Janamejaya and his successors had many Bengali Kayasthas for their court officers. We get the name Kailasa Ghosa, father of Vallabha Ghosa ; Koi Ghosa, son of Vallabha Ghosa ; Malla Datta, son of Dhāra Datta in the employment of Janamejaya ; the names Chāru Datta, Uchchhava Naga and Allava Naga under King Yayāti and the names Singa Datta and Mangala Datta under Bhīmaratha. None but Bengali Kayasthas bear Datta, Ghosa, Naga, etc., as surnames. The Oriya Karanas (who may be called Kayasthas) never used such surnames. The words Datta, Ghosa; Naga, etc., as inseparable parts of the names of men, were in use in other parts of Northern India ; and such names could be borne by persons of any and every caste. But as these words are surnames here of Kayasthas, there can be no doubt that the kings had Bengali officers under them when they acquired territories in the forest tract of Sambalpur. It will be interesting to the Kayasthas of Bengal that all the Kayastha officers in the

service of the Kosala Guptas, call themselves *Ranakas*, that is to say, the descendants of the Kṣattriya Rajas in their *anabhisikta* lines. This claim of the Kayasthas in solemn State documents is not a matter which can be disregarded easily.

Language.—It is not the place where I can or should discuss the question of the origin of either the Oriya Language or the Oriya Alphabet, but as the Kosala Guptas have been the makers of modern Orissa, some points relating to them are mentioned here just to draw the attention of the readers to this important matter. It is now *admitted* by all scholars that the script used in the plates hitherto discussed as well as in other allied inscriptions is exactly the script which was in use in Bengal at this time. It is also a fact that the Bengali letters as they are now, were in use in Orissa at least in the early part of the 14th century A. D. Many stone inscriptions and copper-plate inscriptions of various Ganga Rajas have come into our possession and they all show that purely Bengali letters were in full use in Orissa in those days and Modern Oriya letters may be noticed only here and there in their way of development. The

Dravidian pronunciation of the vowel ṛ is wanting in all the records referred to above as may be distinctly proved by referring to some wrong spellings where the vowel ṛ has been represented by *ri*. How the Eastern Māgadhi language got into Orissa after its sojourn in Bengal will be discussed elsewhere ; it may simply be mentioned that some Western linguistic forms as are found mixed up with the Eastern Māgadhi forms in the Oriya language, can be accounted for by the speech of the early Kosala Guptas who migrated into Orissa from the Chhattisgarh Tract of Bilaspur and Raipur. The matter will be discussed in an introductory essay in the third volume of the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature which is being edited by me.

The Makers of Orissa.—The orthodox history of Orissa, the history which the Madla Panji (maintained in the Jagannath Temple at Puri) has registered begins very rightly with Yayāti (Jajāti according to the accepted pronunciation of the name), son of Janamejaya, as the first king of Orissa. This history has not recognized, nay, it could not recognize, the rulers of the time when only the eastern sea-board tract of the country formed a part of the Kalinga Empire.

Orissa as a country by itself, within some definite geographical limits and with one dominating speech (Oriya Vernacular) for the various races of people, comes into existence by emerging out of a chaotic condition during the rule of the Kosala Guptas of Sirpur origin. Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta who reigned for not less than 31 years, became the first Adhirāja or overlord of almost the whole of the country designated by the name Orissa to-day by conquering Tri-Kalinga comprised of Utkala, Kongada (the district of Puri) and a considerable portion of Kalinga or the District of Ganjam. Perhaps as the peaceful administration of the country began with Jajāti, and not with Janamejaya, the original conqueror or organizer, the name of Jajāti stands at the head of the dynastic list of the Somavamsī Rajas of Orissa in the Madla Panji chronicles. That Jajāti was the son of Janamejaya has, however, been recorded in the Panji.

The name Kesari.—These Lunar Kings of Kosala origin have been very wrongly designated as Kesari Rajas in the Madla Panji. It was Dr. Fleet who first pointed out this mistake and the right views of Dr. Fleet have been

succinctly recorded by Dr. Bloch in the District Gazetteers of Puri and Cuttack. The mistake on the part of the Madla Panji chronicles has been due mainly to two facts which are worth recording in the interest of history. The first fact to be noticed is that the Madla Panji chronicles commenced to be maintained from a time not earlier than the middle of the 12th century A. D., and as such, the accounts of the Rajas who preceded the Gangas had to be recorded by merely relying upon a popular tradition in a country proverbially noted for short memories. The second fact which includes the first one, is that a confusion was made of names and titles of two different dynasties of kings on the one hand, though the Somavamsī Rajas of Kosala bearing the names of Mahābhava Gupta and Mahāsiva Gupta did never as a rule assume the title Kesari—one or two of them seem as stray cases to have borne the title Kesari. On the other hand it was in the memory of the people that the Ganga Rajas who came to occupy Orissa at the decline of the dynastic rule of the Lunar Kings of Kosala origin, became powerful in the Andhra Country as well as in Orissa by putting down the power of those Chola Rajas who in-

variably bore the title Kesari. This last-named fact must be mentioned with a few details to show how the confusion in question arose.

We learn from the inscriptions of Southern Kings, that for three centuries, *beginning with the 9th*, the Chola Rajas were invading Orissa from time to time. A portion of this period is covered by the rule of Janamejaya and Jajāti and their descendants. All the Chola Rajas *bore the title Kesari*, and it is suspected that one Karṇa Kesari was a governor of theirs in the Northern Utkala Country. We get also from South Indian Inscriptions that in 1070 A.D. Rajendra Chola II or Rājakesari Varman, who subsequently assumed the title Kulottanga Chola Deva, *deposed Parākesari Varman of the regular Chola line* and seized the Chola crown. This Chola King overran the whole of the Tri-Kalinga Country and became at least nominally the overlord of Kalinga and Orissa. Thus the overthrow of the Kesari Kings by the ancestors of the Ganga Rajas of Orissa was, in a vague manner fixed in the memory of the people of the country.

At the time of the conquest of Orissa, or rather the easy annexation of Orissa by Chola

Ganga to his Andhra Kingdom, Uddyota who has been called a Kesari was in Orissa as the last representative of the once mighty dynasty of the Kosala Kings. Evidently the Gangas did not wage any war against Uddyota, for in the first place, Uddyota was allowed to remain unmolested where he was, and in the second place Uddyota as a ruler of Orissa has not been registered in the Madla Panji. The people of the country remembered the incidents of these days in the simple manner that the rule of the dynasty headed by Jajāti came to an end and the Gangas who had overthrown the rule of the Kesaris (no matter to which country those Kesaris belonged) became the Kings of Orissa. Thus it was that the facts relating to two dynasties were hopelessly mixed up in the memory when an account of the dynasty of the Kosala Guptas was recorded in the Madla Panji and the dynasty was designated as that of Kesari Rajas.

A Summary of Names and Dates.—It is not the edifice of history but the scaffolding that may be set up to build the edifice what we get in collecting together some names of kings and their dates, yet it is a fact that here in India what

may be presented in the name of the political history of ancient time is but a string of names of some rulers fixed to dates approximately worked out. A summary is given below of the names of some rulers with their approximate dates which may be utilized in future in setting up a scaffolding to build the edifice of what may be called real history.

Of the Rajas of the Lunar race who once ruled at Sirpur in the district of Raipur in the Central Provinces we get the following names :— (1) Udayana, circa 735 A.D.; (2) Indrabala, son of Udayana ; (3) Nanna Deva, son of Indrabala ; (4) Tīvara Mahāśiva, son of Nanna Deva, circa 800 to 820 A.D.; (5) Harṣa Gupta, brother of Tīvara Deva ; (6) Bālārjuna Mahāśiva, son of Harṣa Gupta.

The eldest son of Bālārjuna of the above list who was a Mahābhava became in all probability the ruler of the eastern portion of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, covered by the Sambalpur Tract comprised of Sambalpur, Rehrakhol, Sonpur and Patna (circa 860 A. D.). His son whose personal name is not known is perhaps that Mahāśiva Gupta who has been described in the Janamejaya Charters as the father of Janamejaya.

Three Kosala Guptas of Sambalpur area who became Rājādhirāja of limited Kosala and Tri-Kalinga and who resided principally in the State of Sonpur, are :—(1) Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta (the three charters of his which register grant of villages to his minister were issued in the 31st year of his reign), circa 895+32=927 A. D.; (2) Yayāti Mahāśiva Gupta (acknowledged in Oriya chronicles to be the first ruler of the newly-organized Orissa[c]; the charter of his 15th regnal year is the latest of his charters hitherto discovered), circa 927+16 =943 A. D.; (3) Bhīmaratha Mahābhava Gupta (only one charter of his 3rd regnal year discovered ; to be on the safe side 17 years may be allotted to him) may be held to have expired by about 960 A. D., a short time after which Rājarāja the Great, *alias* Rājakesari Varman Chola, invaded Orissa. Son of Rājarāja the Great led his military expedition into the Sambalpur Tract to conquer the then Kosala Chief there.

In 1070 A. D. Rajendra Chola, *alias* Rajakesari Varman, invaded Orissa and in 1076 A.D. the Ganga Rajas established their rule in Orissa.

We do not get any record of the successors of Bhīmaratha who ruled to end of 1070 A. D.

or 1076 A. D. As the Madla Panji has recorded false names for the successors of Yayāti, the fanciful big list of that record has rightly been discarded by such critical scholars as Fleet and Bloch.

The first Ganga ruler ruled from 1076 to 1127 A. D.; during the time of his rule the name of Uddyota occurs in a Bhubaneshwar Inscription as a remote descendant of Yayāti, and the names of Abhimanyu and Kumāra Someśvara occur in a Sonpur Charter. How Kosala or Sambalpur Tract fared from the 12th to 15th century has been detailed in the Sixth Chapter.

Chapter VIII

OTHER RULERS OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

Section I—The Deeds of the Kosala Guptas

For want of discovery of reliable records we have failed to ascertain what Janamejaya, Yayāti and Bhīmaratha did in the Tri-Kalinga portion of their empire which was composed of Utkala, Oḍra and Kalinga, as may be regarded to be of much consequence in history. It can be gathered from their copper-plate charters that they used to come out to Tri-Kalinga from time to time entrusting the home government of Kosala to their ministers but there is no indication in those charters either as to what memorable deeds they accomplished or how the several divisions of Tri-Kalinga were being governed by some local Rajas as their governors or feudatories.

It is doubtless that at Chaudwar on the left bank of the Mahanadi across the modern town of Cuttack a walled city with four gates was intended to be constructed, but the remains there of the unfinished work do not inform as to when or at the initiative of which ruler that work was

commenced. The pieces of stones as were once intended to be placed on the top of some pillars were pointed out to me in 1889 by some villagers of the locality, with this fanciful story regarding them that once Janamejaya of the Mahabharata celebrity wanted to entertain at Chaudwar a full number of one hundred thousand Brahmins to a feast, but finding that the requisite number was not available in Orissa, he made the stone-cutters to make those pieces so that they might be used as Brahmins to make up for the requisite number. I regarded that story more valuable than the legendary accounts relating to the Kesarī Rajas recorded in some Pauranic works of local manufacture. The villagers who have no manner of knowledge of there having been a Janamejaya as a ruler of Orissa, cherish a tradition which points to the historical Janamejaya, father of Yayāti. It is a likely fact that Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta sought to establish a town in the centre of his newly-acquired territory.

The Bhubaneshwar Temple.—According to the tradition recorded in the Pseudo-Purāṇas the Raja who was sixth in descent from Yayāti built the magnificent Krittivāsa Temple at Bhubaneshwar. It is a matter of strong presumption that

the eastern capital of the Somavamśī Rajas was somewhere near Bhubaneshwar and that the principal temple at Bhubaneshwar was built some time during the dynastic rule of the Somavamśī Rajas who were devout worshippers of Mahesvara. This temple of great architectural beauty which resembles very much a temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand but excels the Khajuraho Temple to a very great extent was certainly in existence when the Ganga rulers came into power in Orissa in 1076, for those successors of Chola Ganga who are not much removed from him in time mention the temples and *maths* of Krittivāsa Kṣettra (*i.e.*, Bhubaneshwar) in a manner which indicates a long-standing reputation of the sacred town of Bhubaneshwar. Moreover, a Praśasti of the Ganga rulers (to be noticed presently) composed during the rule of the Gangas which enumerates all the deeds of the Gangas, does not speak of the temple of Bhubaneshwar to have been constructed by any hero of the Prasasti. We know nothing definitely of the time but it is suggested tentatively that the temple in question came into existence some time between 950 and 1000 A.D. ; 950 is the likely time when the reign of Bhīmaratha Mahābhava Gupta terminat-

ed, and 1000 A.D. is the time since when the rule of the successors of Bhīmaratha commenced to be fraught with danger because of constant raid of the powerful Southerners into Orissa. I should also mention in this connection that great European specialists in the matter of architecture hold unanimously that the Jagannath Temple at Puri was built in imitation of the type which the temple at Bhubaneshwar represents.

It is also of some importance to note that what is peculiarly customary in the Sambalpur Tract is distinctly noticeable at Bhubaneshwar in the matter of worship of the deity enshrined in the temple. Some Mālis (Sūdra gardeners) who either on account of their privilege of being the pūjāris of Sthāṇu (Siva) or on account of their being the resident authorities at the stations (Sanskrit Sthāna = Prakrit Thānā where temples are situated) are designated by the name *Thānapati*; these Thānāpatis are permanently attached to Siva temples principally and to Devī temples occasionally in the whole of the Sambalpur Tract. To the temple of Bhubaneshwar these Thānāpatis have been attached since the very foundation of the temple, though nowhere

else in Eastern Orissa the Mālis are so employed. Looking to the number and extension of these Thānāpati Pūjāris at Bhubaneshwar, it may be easily asserted that the Mālis have not been indigenous in the district of Puri, and their ancestors must have migrated from Sambalpur area where their people abound in a large number. Again, the fact that dancing girls have not been attached as Deva-Dāsīs to the Siva Temple at Bhubaneshwar is a significant fact; it proves to a certain extent that the Krittivāsa Kṣettra at Bhubaneshwar did not originate with the Southern Rajas of the Ganga Dynasty.

During the time of the early Gangas Bhubaneshwar does not seem to have been the name of the place where the temple stands, nor the specific name of the deity enshrined in the temple appears to have been either Tri-Bhubaneshwar or Bhubaneshwar. Even in the 13th century when during the reign of Narasimha II of the Gaṅga Dynasty a grant to the Siddheśvar Maṭh was recorded on a slab of stone (*vide* Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. III, p. 1), the whole place has been called Krittivāsa Kṣettra and the deity of the temple of Bhubaneshwar has been called Krittivāsa. "Ekāmra-

māhātmya" is certainly an unreliable booklet of a very late date ; in this book as well in giving a fanciful date of the time of the building the name of the temple has been recorded as the temple of Krittivāsa.

Section II—The Ganga Rajas of Orissa

It has been repeated several times that Chola Ganga of the Ganga Ruling House of Mukhalingam in the Andhra-dēśa annexed Orissa to his kingdom in 1076 A.D. It is to be noted that the whole of the country of Orissa in which Oriya as an Aryan Vernacular became the dominant speech during the rule of the Kosala Guptas, did not come under the sway either of Chola Ganga or of his successors. It has been shown in the Sixth Chapter that Kosala or the Sambalpur Tract lay outside their territory and so did also another tract comprised of Baud and its neighbouring areas. It has been shown in Chapter VI that at the extinction of the rule of the Kosala Guptas in the Sambalpur Tract during the early years of the 12th century, a branch of the Bhanjas of Gumsur became supreme in Baud and Sonpur and these Bhanjas of Baud and Sonpur did not acknowledge the

overlordship of the Ganga Rajas. Again, the Varmans who had their sway over Sonpur and Baud, from some time in the 15th century to the middle of the 16th century, appear to have been unconnected with the Rajas of Eastern Orissa. Never even any conflict arose between the Gangas and the rulers of the Sambalpur Tract, in the history of their whole career. Thus the Sambalpur Tract which from the time of the Kosala Guptas up to now has maintained linguistic unity with the other parts of Orissa and will continue to do so for all time to come, became separated—though only politically—from the main body of Orissa at the accession of royal power by the Gangas in that country. How this Sambalpur Tract fared by being thus separated till the day of its re-union with Orissa in recent time will be narrated very briefly later on to complete the story of the formation of Orissa as a country.

We deal with well-ascertained dates in narrating the story of the Ganga Rulers. In "The Genealogical Table of the Eastern Ganga Kings" (J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, Pt. I, pp. 140 *et seq.*) the author of the paper late Babu Monmohan Chakravarti has fixed the dates of all the Ganga

Rajas from 1076 to 1402 A.D. with perfect thoroughness and precision. The dates assigned to each and every ruler agree wonderfully in all details with what have been set out in a newly-discovered copper-plate charter of six plates of unusually big size, in which a family-praśasti containing historical details has been prefixed to the record of a gift of two villages in the year 1312 A.D. by Bhānu Deva II of the dynasty. This charter inscribed in Bengali script is expected to be published soon by Nirmal Kumar Bose and Vinayak Misra who have been editing it with great care. The unusually long reign of 70 years of Chola Ganga as worked out by Chakravarti is exactly what has been recorded in the Praśasti portion of this newly-discovered charter. In accordance with the statements of this record which agree with the details of the table prepared by Chakravarti the names and dates of the Ganga Rulers may be summarised as below :—

(1) Chola Ganga (1076—1147 A.D.) ; (2) Kāmārṇava (1147—1156 A.D.) ; (3) Rāghava (1156—1170 A.D.) ; (4) Rājarāja (1170—1190 A.D.) ; (5) Aṇiyanka Bhīma (1190—1198 ; A.D.) (6) Rājarāja (1198—1211 A.D.) ; (7) Ananga

Bhīma (1211—1245 A.D. according to the newly-discovered charter); (8) Narasimha Deva (1245—1264 A.D.); (9) Bhānu Deva I (1264—1279 A.D.); (10) Nrisimha Deva (1279-1306 A.D.). Before giving the other names of the dynasty a new fact brought to light by the newly-discovered charter spoken above, has to be mentioned.

For want of material relating to the early years of the reign of Bhānu Deva II this ruler has been given the date 1306—1327 A.D. by Chakravarti. In the Praśasti portion of the new charter Bhānu Deva II has no doubt been mentioned as a son of Nrisimha Deva and his wife Chola Devi, but in dating the plates of the charter it has been distinctly recorded that Bhānu Deva II when making the grant of two villages did not become a ruler and it was in the seventh year of the reign of Puruṣottama Deva falling in Saka Era 1234 (*i.e.*, 1312 A.D.) that the charter was executed. The first three lines of the 5th plate of the new charter run as follows :—

Om svasti subhamastu Saka nripateh chatustrimsadadhika dvādaśa śata parimita vatsaresu ativāhitesu viśvambharā-bhāra-vahana-vahaniyetyādi praśastistomavirājamanah Sri Purusottama Devasya pravardhamāne Dhanu Krisna-navamyām Souri Vāre Sri-Purusottama Kataka daksina mahodadhitire *Virah Srimat Bhanu Deva Rauta* Varma, etc.

According to this statement Puruṣottama Deva coming between Nrisimha and Bhānu II begins his reign in 1306 A.D., for his seventh regnal year is S. 1234=1312 A.D. Bhānu Deva II in that case reigned from 1313 or thereabout to 1327 A.D. It is worth noting that Bhānu Deva II has been called Rauta (the Prakrit form of Rajputra) and the town of Puri has been named Puruṣottama-*Kataka*. The term Kaṭaka has been used to signify a town and it appears that the modern town of Cuttack owes its name to the place once having been the Kaṭaka or town where the Governors of the Mukhalinga Gangas resided.

After Bhanu II we get the following three names, *viz.*, Nrisimha III (1328—1353 A.D.), Bhanu III (1353—1378 A.D.) and Nrisimha IV (1379—1402 A.D.). Then follows the reign of some unimportant weak rulers to end of 1434 when the mighty kings of the Solar Dynasty commenced their rule in Orissa.

It has been distinctly recorded in the Praśasti portion of the new charter that Chola Ganga, the first Ganga Ruler of Orissa, built the famous temple of Jagannāth at Puri and the 8th ruler Narasimha constructed the now-dilapidated

temple of Konārak. In the name of history we get nothing beyond these facts. There are references in the epigraphic records of the Gangas to the contemporary Mahomedan Rulers or Generals, but relating to the people of the country we are absolutely in the dark.

What Mr. O'Malley has recorded in a short paragraph in the District Gazetteer of Puri is virtually the whole history of the Ganga Dynasty that may interest the general readers. Writes Mr. O'Malley :

"In the beginning of the 11th century, the Cholas, who had established a great empire in the Deccan, began to extend their power over Orissā ; but their conquests do not appear to have left any permanent mark on the country, being merely brief but successful expeditions. At the end of that century *it was effectually subdued by the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara* (the modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam District), and the rule of these monarchs lasted till 1434-35, the dynasty including altogether 15 kings. Of these by far the most powerful was Choḍa Ganga, who extended his dominions from the Godavari to the Ganges, and built the famous temple of Jagannath at Puri in the 1st half of the 12th

century. Another of the Ganga Kings, Narasimha I (1238—64) is known to posterity as the builder of the temple of Konārak, which he dedicated to the Sun-god Arka at Konā ; while the temple of Meghesvar at Bhubaneshwar, was erected by a general and councillor of one of his predecessors, Ananga Bhīma, about 1200 A.D."

Some stone and copper-plate inscriptions reveal in an unmistakable manner that though Ganga Rulers of Orissa and their predecessors were well-established at Mukhalingam in the Telugu-speaking country *their language and script were not Telugu but were Tamil.* The Gangas retained the culture of the place of their origin, and the language and script of the Andhra country were never adopted by them. In the epigraphic records referred to above the original text has first been inscribed in one column in the Tamil language and Tamil script while a free translation of it has been inscribed in another column *in Oriya language but in Bengali script.* The use of Tamil in the Ganga family can be definitely noticed in the time of Nrisimha Deva whose reign extended to 1305 A.D., *and the use of Bengali script for Oriya text can also be noticed undeniably in the time of Bhanu Deva II*

who ended his rule in 1327. Fully-formed Oriya letters of a time earlier than the middle of the 15th century have not hitherto been discovered.

We have noticed before what is a generally-accepted fact that it was the script which had been in use in Bengal, came to be used in Orissa in the time of the Kosala Guptas ; the script of the Kosala of Tīvara Deva did not flow into Orissa. And then we notice what has been just mentioned that the script of Bengal virtually in the form in which it is now current came into use in Orissa and remained in use in that country at least all throughout the Ganga times. We do not fail to notice in this Bengali script in Orissa that many letters are in their way to take the Provincial Oriya forms with which we are now familiar. Scholars will not fail to observe on the strength of these facts that the modern Oriya script is in the main the Bengali script provincially changed or evolved. One fact in connection with this question should not escape our notice. We find in some epigraphic records of some parts of Orissa of the 15th century that though the script of Bengal in its modern form was in use in Orissa during that time and earlier,

the archaic script of the days of the Kosala Guptas have been used to inscribe those records. This was evidently due to the fact that in official and formal matters it was a fashion for some time to resort to the archaic script. The intimate relation of quite organic character that subsisted between Orissa and Bengal for centuries together is a fit subject for historical investigation.

It has been noticed that the Ganga Rajas themselves used in their official documents the Tamil language and Tamil script. These Rajas who were particular in recording the deeds of their time, perhaps introduced the system of maintaining a chronicle in the Jagannath Temple. In all likelihood this chronicle now known by the name Madla Panji was written up in Tamil script and consequently the chroniclers of subsequent days failed to transcribe in Oriya what was in Tamil. This alone can account for the egregious mistakes which the chroniclers of the Madla Panji have made in naming the Ganga Rajas in regular succession.

The Cult of Jagannath.—It is unfortunate that the history of the people which is the real history of a country eludes our grasp and we have to be satisfied with a worthless chronicle

(reconstructed with considerable labour) of some aristocrats benevolent or otherwise. The sycophants who have sung the glory of their masters in connection with the construction of some magnificent temples, have not uttered even a word relating to the social condition of the people which led to the establishment of religious monuments. Why was it that the Gangas of Ganjam who were thorough respecters of Brahminic systems and strict observers of social rules enjoined by the institution of caste, became liberal enough of a sudden just on annexing Orissa to their empire to relax the caste rules in connection with the worship of Jagannāth? It was to recognise and to enshrine the peculiarly special cult of Jagannāth that the magnificent temple, involving lavish expenditure of immense wealth, was constructed at Puri by vigilantly pursuing the work of construction for a period of 19 long years. Nothing has been ascertained hitherto which can give us some idea of the popular social force which must have been operative in the matter. There have been many ingenious suggestions spun out of imagination, but they all fail to explain why the mighty aristocrats who were orthodox

adherents of Brahminic faith were compelled to patronise a religious form unknown in other parts of India. The cult is said to be Buddhistic in origin ; but Buddhistic cults of all possible shades were and have been alive at various places in Northern India far more important than Puri, and nowhere such a system was brought into vogue as would permit the people of all castes and creeds to eat a holy meal together. If the system was really in force at Puri among a section of the people, the section might be let alone to follow their own practices, and there was no need for the orthodox monarchs to adopt the system for universal recognition. The details of the political career of the Gangas do not show that their peaceful rule could be threatened by any religious sect on account of the non-acceptance of its creed by the rulers. If it were a popular cult that was enshrined in the temple of Jagannath we could trace the existence of it among some sections of the people of Orissa to-day, for a thing so forceful must be too hard to die out easily. To describe the wanderings of the Pāndavas in his Oriya Mahabharata (composed in the middle of the 15th century) Sārlā Dās

speaks of a locality in the south of Orissa which was impure on account of non-observance by the people of caste rules and other social rules enjoined by the Brahminic Scriptures. This anecdote was not taken from the Sanskrit Mahabharata, and it may therefore be suspected that the social condition of an uncertain locality in the neighbourhood of Puri as described by the Oriya poet might not have been wholly drawn upon imagination. This is, however, too weak a material to rely upon for a theory; I merely point this out as it has not been noticed hitherto. A thorough research to trace the origin of the cult in question should be vigorously pursued by trained anthropologists, for this history which is sure to disclose the social conditions of a past time is of greater magnitude and value than discussions and dissertations relating to architecture of the Jagannath Temple.

Section III.—The Solar Dynasty of Orissa.

The ancestor of the rulers of Orissa, who claims to belong to the Solar race, is believed according to one account to have come to Orissa from Gauḍa-Bengal and to have been employed in the service of the Ganga Rulers for his

military qualifications. It is said that Kapilendra Deva, the first mighty ruler of the Solar Dynasty, descended from that ancestor and became at first the chief minister of the last Ganga Raja. This tradition of Gauḍa origin of the family is not easy to dismiss, since in another account of the family Kapilendra is spoken of as having been born of a mother of Gauḍa caste. The term Gauḍa which is a geographical name in Bengal signifies the humble Gopa or Goālā caste in Oriya, and hence, perhaps, arose a confusion, and the original home of the family was interpreted by the common people as the name of a Sūdra caste. It would have been impossible for Kapilendra to claim a high Ksattriya origin with the full acceptance of the claim by the Brahmins, if he really were of Sūdra origin to the knowledge of the people of his time.

In the accounts of Orissa in the Making the history of the rule of the Solar *Monarchs* of Orissa should be accorded a very high place of honour. No doubt the Ganga Rajas brought Orissa into renown by making it the home of gods honoured throughout India, but in the days of the Ṭamil-speaking rulers of Mukhalingam Orissa was only a dependency of the

Andhra Country, while during the rule of the Solar Dynasty Orissa became a thoroughly independent country, and in its turn the Andhra Country became a dependency of Orissa.

Kapilendra, the genuine son of the soil of Orissa with Oriya for his speech, assumed the rulership of the country in 1435 to inaugurate a new era of culture and happiness, the glorious memory of which will be cherished by the people for ever. Orissa by his conquests became a big empire and Kapilendra became its illustrious emperor. What Mr. O'Malley writes of the extension of his empire is given below in his own words :—

"He found the fortunes of his kingdom at a very low ebb, but succeeded by constant wars in extending its limits till it stretched from the Ganges to the Pennār. In Bengal Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah was striving to keep up a tottering throne and here the Oriyas extended their frontier up to the Ganges. In the south, Kapilendra overran the country as far as the Krishnā, wrested it from the petty ruling chiefs and then proceeded against the Kings of the 1st Vijayanagara Dynasty, who were harassed by internal revolt and bloody wars with the

Bahmani Sultans. Taking advantage of their troubles, the Oriya King annexed the east coast south of the Krishnā as far as Udayagiri near Nellore, and then successfully resisted the attempts of the Bahmani Sultans to crush him, ravaging their territories up to Bidar in 1457. Energetic as was his foreign policy, he showed no less vigour in his internal administration. One of the earliest measures of his reign was to remit the *chaukidari* tax paid by the Brahmins, to abolish the tax on salt and cowries, to stop the resumption of waste and pasture lands, and to issue orders that all the chiefs in Orissa were to work for the general good on pain of banishment and confiscation of their property."

This will give us a good idea as to what Kapilendra, the founder of the Solar Dynasty, did during his reign which lasted from 1435 to 1469 A.D. It has been unfortunate for Orissa that the dynastic rule of the Solar Kings who made Orissa the queen of the east was very short-lived. It was no doubt a short-lived dynasty of three generations of kings, but it was during the rule of this dynasty (1435—1540 A.D.) that Orissa attained its highest glory in all directions. *What may be said to be the*

Making of Orissa came to a completion during these glorious days.

Kapilendra held the rising Mahomedan power in effective check and organized a good government in his own country. His son Puruṣottama Deva and his grandson Pratapa Rudra Deva maintained the glory of the country by adopting active and effective measures. Puruṣottama Deva was no doubt only an ally of a Bahmani Sultan, when he led a successful military expedition to Kanchi, but for what he accomplished with his personal prowess and with the bravery of his soldiers, Orissa may justly be proud of. Though the poets of his time have not sung to commemorate his deeds, we can very well imagine that the people became conscious of their power and felt a new pulsation of life. I should mention here that a pictorial representation of the incidents relating to the successful expedition to Kanchi appears on a wall of the audience-hall of the Jagannath Temple at Puri.

The most noted event of the time of Pratapa Rudra Deva is the appearance in Orissa in 1505 of Chaitanya Deva of Bengal who is the father in the eastern lands of the Neo-Vaishnavite

cult. The religious movement which Chaitanya Deva set in motion gave no doubt a new impetus to the literary activities of the land, but we should not forget that even before the birth of this movement a host of capable Sūdra authors came to the forefront and extorted popular recognition of their merit. How Oriya Literature made a memorable advance during the rule of the Solar Dynasty may be learnt in the Introductory Essay which I have prefixed to the 1st volume of the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature edited by me and published by the Calcutta University.

My theme has been—Orissa in the Making, and my self-imposed task does not involve in the narration of the history of fully-formed Orissa. The history of the subsequent time has already been clearly ascertained and narrated by many capable authors. To complete the above task, the history of the Sambalpur Tract (which did not form politically a part of Orissa from the Ganga times onwards) will have to be narrated in the following chapter.

Though it does not come properly within the scope of this work, I conclude the chapter by merely referring to the misfortune which befell

Orissa at the close of the reign of Pratāpa Rudra Deva. Govinda Vidyādhar, a Sudra Oḍ-Chaṣa who was the minister of the illustrious Pratāpa Rudra Deva, assassinated the sons of his master and usurped the throne of the Solar Kings in 1541. The caste title of Govinda and his two successors was Bhoi; the reign of these Bhoi rulers did not last long and very soon at the termination of the Bhoi rule, Telengā Mukunda Deva became the ruler of Orissa and for some time struggled against the powerful attack of the Moslems. Telengā Mukunda Deva expired in 1568 and at the loss of its independence Orissa came under the rule of the Mahomedans.

Chapter IX

THE SAMBALPUR TRACT IN ORISSA

In narrating the history of the Bhanjas of olden days it has been shown very clearly in the 6th Chapter that the present Ruling House of Mayurbhanj is not even distantly connected with the Bhanjas of epigraphic records. The family records of the Raj House affirm that quite a foreigner of the United Provinces came into Orissa at the time of the invasion of Orissa by Man Singh and he it was who established the present Ruling House on obtaining the Zemindary of Hariharpur from a Raja of Puri. This time cannot be earlier than 1589. Thus no portion of history of this newly-formed Mayurbhanj falls within the formative period of the history of Orissa to deserve a narration in this work entitled "Orissa in the Making." What is true of Mayurbhanj holds good in respect of other principalities on the highlands of Orissa lying between the sea-board districts and the Sambalpur Tract. It is the organization of private States in a fully organized country which the

history of these principalities records. To speak briefly, a member of this new Mayurbhanj family organized the State of Keonjhar with the sanction of the Rajas of Puri. A scion of this Keonjhar family again is admitted by the Baud Rajas to have been their ancestor. It will also be found in Cobden-Ramsay's "Gazetteer of the Feudatory Areas" that excepting the State of Ranpur all the States of Orissa Proper falling outside the Sambalpur Tract and Chutia Nagpur Area are of recent origin and those States owe their existence wholly to the beneficence of those Rajas of Puri who flourished long after the extinction of the Ganga Rule in Orissa.

The Sambalpur Tract, we have seen, did not form a part of the dominion of the Ganga Rulers in Orissa ; it has also been noticed that some Bhanja Rulers of Kimedy origin who had the State of Baud under their sway made a territorial extension into the easternmost part of the Kosala country by seizing the State of Sonpur at the extinction of the Rule of the Kosala Guptas. How these Bhanjas again disappeared from Baud and Sonpur and some Varman Rajas assumed authority both in Baud and Sonpur some time in the 15th century A. D. have also

been narrated in the 6th Chapter. In all probability the successors of Yogeśvara Varman of the line of the Varman Rulers continued their rule in Sonpur to the middle of the 16th century A. D. The epigraphic records of those days do not inform us how the remaining portion of the Kosala Country, namely, the area covered principally by the States of Patna and Sambalpur, fared at that time.

Since the Varmans did not come upon Patna and Sambalpur when they were ruling in the State of Sonpur, it may be presumed that the political condition which obtained in Patna and Sambalpur all throughout the 15th century was not favourable to the Varmans in the matter of making acquisition of those States. It is this political condition which we should proceed now to ascertain.

There is a tradition in the form of a legend of quasi-mythical character that so early as the 12th or 13th century A.D. one Humeru of the family of the Chohan Rajputs of Mainpuri in the United Provinces came to Patna with his wife who was then enceinte, and acquired there a position of some significance by his heroic deeds. It is also narrated in this legendary

account that the son of Humeru born in Patna State became by his mythical powers the chief of the eight Malliks who had the government of Patna and Sambalpur in their hands and thus established the Chohan Rule in the Kosala Country by being installed at Gaḍ-Sambar. This tradition maintained in the Ruling Houses of Patna and Sonpur was secured by Mr. Impey in 1862 when he was the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, and the whole account thus obtained was published in the Central Provinces Gazetteer in 1867. The historicity of this tradition must be very critically examined, for it is always unsafe to rely upon such accounts.

No doubt this tradition is very old, for the Bhonslas of Nagpur recognise the Chohan origin of the Rajas of Sambalpur and Sonpur in their official records of the 18th century, but that is not by itself sufficient to regard the fact as true. When in 1911 I recorded the tradition in my work entitled "Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract," I was not aware of those facts which prove almost to a demonstration that a Chohan Rajput Prince of the family of the historical Prithviraj of Delhi did really establish a Chohan

Rule at Patna towards the end of the 14th century A.D.

It has been recorded in the "Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces" (published in 1916) that there is an important section of Rajputs in some villages in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur, who claim to be of Chohan origin. When in April, 1917, this work of Mr. Russell came to my hand I set about an enquiry relating to these Chohans with the help of some friends residing in Chhattisgarh, and the result I have achieved has been satisfactory. It may be stated on the authority of the record of Mr. Russell that these Chohans of Chhattisgarh are all illiterate people and do not occupy any high or respectable situation in society. They have been employing themselves for generations together as labourers and village watchmen, but still they are proud enough not to touch any sort of food which is not offered them by a Brahmin. They employ only Brahmin priests to officiate at all religious and ceremonial occasions. They are only 700 souls according to the figures of the census of 1911 and do not know that in the Sambalpur Tract, there are aristocratic houses who may be called to be of

their own kin. These highly-degraded and illiterate Chohans of backward Chhattisgarh villages narrate this story that they came to the Chhattisgarh plains from *Mainpuri* as camp-followers and soldiers of a prince of their caste who had to leave Mainpuri in quest of a new country for himself, when the Pathan Mahomedans of Delhi made his situation very unsafe. This corroboration of the essential portion of the tradition maintained at Patna and Sonpur by such illiterate villagers of Chhattisgarh regarding whom the rulers of Patna and Sonpur have still no manner of information, is of great historical value.

When as a legendary account the origin of the Sambalpur Chohans was recorded in the Central Provinces Gazetteer in 1867 the historian did not reject the account very rightly for this reason that it could not be possible for the Rulers of Patna and Sonpur to name Mainpuri of all places of Northern India as the place of their origin if there were no truth in the tradition. The fact is now established beyond doubt that it was a Rajput of the Mainpuri House of the Chohans who established the Chohan Rule in the Sambalpur Tract, but it remains to be

ascertained as to when exactly this historical incident took place.

The political state of things as has been previously described relating to Kosala makes it pretty clear that it could not at all prove an easy matter for any new dynastic rule to be established in the Sambalpur Tract previous to the middle of the 14th century. We examine, however, with the help of known facts as to when the Chohans did actually get a footing in the Sambalpur Tract. The Maharajas of Patna and Sonpur who are their direct descendants maintain genealogical tables from the earliest ruler downwards without any break. But as the duration of the reign of each ruler has not been carefully noted, we have to examine some facts to establish a fairly accurate chronology.

We get in the traditional account referred to above that Ramāi Deo, the posthumous son of Humeru, became the leader of the At-mallik Government of the people without a King at Patna, and made Gaḍ-Sambar his principal place of residence. It is also narrated that this Ramāi Deo of Chohan origin established his rule with the help of a Binjhal Chief of Bora-Sambar, and that Binjhal Chief was made a vassal

zemindar of his. This man who was thus made a zemindar with the title Bariha to signify his position in the tribal language as the leader of the Binjhals, is believed to be the ancestor of the Zemindar family of Bora-Sambar, and became the first Bariha Zemindar of Bora-Sambar.

We get in the Nrisimha-Māhātmya the names of 30 zemindars from the first Bariha to the present holder of the estate. The genealogical table of the Maharaj family of Patna also gives us the names of 30 Chiefs from Ramāi Deo to Maharaja Prithvi Sing Deo who died in 1922. This period of 30 generations cannot possibly be of greater duration than 500 years. This takes us back to the end of the 14th or to the beginning of the 15th century. To be on the safe side we may fix 1400 A.D. to be the time when the Chohan rule was first established in the Patna State.

The date I have fixed is not in conflict with what has been recorded in the Raj families regarding the duration of reigns of the Rulers. It will also be seen that the subsequent facts of known times will not militate against the chronology which have been tentatively fixed.

Narasimha Deo, who is said to be the 12th Raja of Patna, ceded to his brother Balarām Deo the whole of the tract now covered by the district of Sambalpur. If 120 years be assigned to the 12 chiefs, Balarām Deo may be considered to have become the Ruler of Sambalpur in the year 1520. During the rule of Balabhadra Sāi, grandson of Balarām Deo, Madan Gopal, the second son of Balabhadra Sāi, acquired the State of Sonpur very likely by ousting the Varman Rulers from the State. The family annals inform us that in consideration of his prowess the State of Sonpur was settled upon Madan Gopal by his father.

Maharaja Sir Bīr Mitrodaya Sing Deo, the present Ruling Chief of Sonpur, traces his pedigree through an unbroken line of the Chohan Rajput Rulers who first established their sway over the whole of the Sambalpur Tract, and is the 12th Maharaja of Sonpur. As such the middle of the 16th century may be assigned as the time when Raja Madan Gopāl Sing Deo became the founder of a new line of Chohan Kings at Sonpur. According to this history it will be correct to say that not only the State of Patna but also the State of Sonpur

as well was acquired by the Chohans by conquest.

The Chohan Rulers of Patna became the Rulers of the whole of the Sambalpur Tract, and extended their influence far and wide in the hilly tracts of Orissa and Gondowana. It has been recorded by Sir Alexander Grant in his Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (ed. 1867) that the Chohan Chiefs of Patna became the head of a cluster of 18 forest states known as the "Aṭhārā Garjāt." That the suzerainty of the powerful Chohan Chiefs of Patna and Sambalpur was acknowledged by the Chiefs of Bamra (previous to the rule of the present line of Rulers), Gangpur, Bonai, Rehrakhol, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Bindra-Nowagarh, Sakti, Bora-Sambar, Phuljhar, Baud, Atgarh, Panchgarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, has been recorded at page 22 of the District Gazetteer of Sambalpur by Mr. L. S. S.O'Malley of the Indian Civil Service.

The Binjhal Zemindar of Bora-Sambar, who helped the first Chohan Chief in his acquisition of the State of Patna, was given the privilege of making *tika* to the Maharajas of Patna on the occasion of their accession to the *gadi*. That this custom was in force till 1803, has been admitted by the present Zemindar of Bora-

Sam-bar in his recently published book Nrisimha-Māhātmya. The Gond Zemindars of Phuljhar admit that their ancestors were the vassal chiefs of the Chohan Maharajas. The people of Raigarh and Sarangarh affirmed at the time of Government enquiry in 1862 that formerly their Chiefs, who are Gonds, acknowledged the Maharajas of Patna as their overlords. It is reported that some old records disclosed the fact that the Chohan Rajas of Patna and Sambalpur issued orders of demand of revenue from time to time upon some Chiefs of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj; it is regrettable that no trace of those records can now be obtained, though they were inspected either by Sir A. Grant himself or by his responsible assistants some time previous to 1862.

This extensive power of the Chohan Chiefs was once instrumental in making Hindu civilisation prevail over a very large tract of country mainly inhabited by many rude aboriginal tribes. A new civilisation of a very advanced type now dominates the whole of India; but what part the Hindu civilisation played in olden times to humanise many souls in the forest regions, should never be forgotten. The Maharajas of

Patna and Sonpur are now the representatives of the powerful Chohan Rulers of olden days.

How very mighty the Chohan Chiefs were in the early days of their rule, can be gathered from the fact, that though the Maharajas of Patna had but a nominal sway over the rude tribes of Bamra, it was through their agency that the rule of the Ganga-vamsi Ksatriyas was established in the wild tract of Bamra when the Bhuiyas and the Khands were contending to obtain supremacy there. It is worth noting that all the rude tribes accepted the rule of the Ksatriyas in those days very gladly without offering any opposition whatsoever.

We get in the legendary accounts of Kālāpāhār's vandalism in Orissa that this half-mythical Hindu convert to Mahomedanism, though successful in his raids all throughout Orissa, was repulsed by the Chohan Rajas from the very borders of the Sambalpur Tract. The legend is of value to prove that in those days the Chohan Rājās were regarded very powerful by the people all over Orissa. It may also be noticed in this connection that when Govinda Vidyādhar, the faithless minister of Raja Pratāp Rudra Deo of Puri,

slaked his thirst for power and blood by killing two infant sons of his master, a young prince of the Ganga family ran away from Puri to obtain the safe shelter of the Chohan Maharaja of Patna. Again the significance of this fact can never be ignored that the Mahomedans, who became all powerful in the sea-board districts of Orissa, never thought of advancing to the borders of the Sambalpur Tract over which the Chohan rule prevailed.

The early Chohan Rajas of Sonpur.—Thus we get these facts that at the commencement of the 15th century A.D. the Chohans of Delhi origin established their rule in the Sambalpur Tract and by about the middle of the 16th century Maharaja Madan Gopal of this Chohan family founded a new dynasty at Sonpur. For convenience of reference I give here the names of all the Ruling Chiefs of Sonpur in a genealogical tree which is maintained in the Raj family :—

Madan Gopāl Sing Deo.
|
Lāl Sāi Sing Deo.
|

(Contd. on next page).

Purusottama Sing Deo.
|
Raj Sing Deo.
|
Achal Sing Deo.
|
Divya Sing Deo.
|
Jarawar Sing Deo.
|
Sobha Sing Deo
(son of Divya Sing and paternal uncle or Jarawar Sing).
|
Prithvi Sing Deo.
|
Nīlādhar (Nīlādrinath) Sing Deo.
|
Pratāp Rudra Sing Deo.
|
Maharaja Sir Bīr Mitrodaya Sing Deo.

We have said that Maharaja Madan Gopal, the first Ruling Chief of Sonpur, was very heroic and enterprising. He acquired his territory by force of his arms, and organized a liberal government which pacified all the subject races including the aboriginal tribes at the frontier of the State.* In his wisdom he respected the tribal gods of the subject races

and made permanent arrangements for the performance of their worship according to the customary rites. Madan Gopāl's younger brother Bansi Gopāl was very much attached to him, and lived with him at Sonpur for some time.

Bansi Gopāl was very much religiously minded, and was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. With pecuniary help from his father and his elder brother Madan Gopal he established the Gopālji *Math* at Sambalpur and the Ramji *Math* at Puri, and richly endowed them with landed property.

Not Bansi Gopāl alone, but the whole family of the Sonpur Rajas has ever been noted for their devotion to Viṣṇu. It is also to be noted that the Sonpur Rulers worship Sakti—the mighty consort of Mahādeva—as the family goddess, and worship regularly on all Mondays the god Mahādeva who is enshrined in the temple of Suvarnameru, though they become initiated by their *Mohanta* of the Rāmji *Math* at Puri with Vaiṣnava *mantra*. It is the Vaiṣnava emblem which has ever since been maintained as the family insignia by all the branches of the Chohan Chiefs. This emblem is

a *chakra* or discus, which is the mighty weapon of Viṣnu.

Lāl Sāi Sing Deo, the son and successor of Maharaja Madan Gopāl, encouraged many Hindu settlers to come and settle in his State. It is stated that in his time the town of Sonpur became extremely flourishing. The length of the town of Sonpur was then from the temple of Rāmesvar situated at the junction of the Mahanadi and the Tel to the temple of Gokarṇeśvar on the Mahanadi, and the width of the town was from the temple of Suvarna-meru on the Tel to the bank of the Mahanadi. This area covered nearly 3 square miles, and was very thickly populated. Recent excavations at different places fully bear out the tradition of a bigger town.

It is curious to note that even now the town-criers, when proclaiming any Royal mandate, ask the imaginary 52,000 residents of the town of Sonpur to listen to the proclamation though the actual population is about 10,000 now. This form of proclamation having been handed down from generation to generation, it is uncertain as to when the town of Sonpur had an extensive population of nearly 52,000 ; it is not impossible

that this tradition regarding very large population has come down from the time of the Kosala Guptas.

It was in the time of Maharaja Madan Gopāl Sing Deo that the existing temple of Suvarnameru Mahādeva was built; but as the town bore the name Suvarnapur or Sonpur in the days of Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta, it may be presumed that Suvarnameru Mahādeva has been the presiding deity of the State since a very remote time. It is highly important to note that the Thānāpati Mālis have been the priests in all the temples in the Sambalpur Tract from a time which goes beyond the date of the establishment of the Chohan Rule; it is in accordance with this long-established custom that the Thānāpatis are the priests in the temple of Suvarṇameru as well as in the Devī temple of Samḷai. On special festive days however the Brahmans officiate as priests in all temples. It is said by the people that once the God Mahādeva caused bits of gold to be showered in the State, and the people got those bits in the river-bed; and it is for this reason, they say, that the god was named Suvarnameru.

It has been mentioned before that a small

hill which bears an inscription and is situated in the bed of the Mahanadi, not far off from the palace of the Maharaja, is called Lankeśvarī, and is worshipped by the boatmen when passing through the river. Similar to this Lankeśvarī hill or boulder bearing inscriptions there is a boulder with inscriptions and foot-prints in the river near Sambalpur, and this latter is called the Rāmapāda Rock.

Rāj Sing Deo, the great-grandson of Lāl Sāi Deo, married in the family of the Kimedy Rajas, and his wife, of the Kimedy family, is reported to have carried with her the tutelary goddess, Khambesvarī, of her Kimedy ancestors. As the question regarding the origin of this goddess is of historic and ethnic interest, I have discussed it at some length in a previous chapter.

After Rāj Sing Deo, Achal Sing Deo, the father of Divya Sing and Sobha Sing, became the Chief of Sonpur. Jarawar Sing Deo succeeded his father Divya Sing Deo, and reigned for one year only. He having died without any issue was succeeded by his paternal uncle Sobha Sing Deo. Sobha Sing Deo was succeeded by Raja Prithvi Sing Deo* of great historical interest.

One incident of the time of the father of Jarawar Sing Deo which is widely known in the State deserves a mention here. In those days, it is said, the State of Rehrakhol was regarded as directly subordinate to the State of Sonpur. It is narrated that a Raja of Rehrakhol did not acknowledge the overlordship of Divya Sing Deo and Yuvaraj Jarawar was sent out with a force to teach that Raja a lesson. When the first attempt of Jarawar Sing Deo to execute his mission failed and he returned and encamped himself on the bank of the Mahanadi opposite to the Raj Palace, Jarawar Sing's mother sent to him as a present a piece of *sari*, which is a woman's wearing apparel, to signify that Jarawar was regarded as unheroic as a woman. Jarawar feeling ashamed at it proceeded again to Rehrakhol and this time he captured the Raja of Rehrakhol and brought him to Khanḍahata which has been identified with the Khanḍakṣetra of the epigraphic records.

Prithvi Sing Deo and the old-time status of the Chohan Rajas.—It has already been stated that the Chohans of the Sambalpur Tract conquered the territories which their descendants have inherited. Some incidents of the

time of Prithvi Sing Deo will throw some light on the status and position of the Chohans in later times. It goes without saying that the Chohan Rajas maintained their thorough independence from the time of their acquisition of the States to 1745 when the Marathas of Nagpur subverted the Haihaya kingdom of Bilaspur and Raipur. How the matters stood in Maratha times from 1745 to 1803 remains to be considered. Mr. C. Wills of the Indian Civil Service has brought to light many facts in his paper relating to Chhattisgarh published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1919 which have been helpful in determining many points of interest. The explanation which Mr. Wills has given of Aṭhāra Gaḍ and the reflection which he has made relating to the extra-territorial authority of the Patna Chiefs are worthy of serious consideration. Mr. Wills has shown that far from holding the Rulers of the Sambalpur Tract under subjection the Rulers of Raipur and Bilaspur did never even realise or demand any revenue from the Chiefs of the Chhattisgarh Area who were counted as subordinate chiefs of the Haihayas.

The Sambalpur Area fell outside the territory constituted of Raipur and Bilaspur when the Sarabhpur Rulers came into power by about the middle of the 9th century A. D., and it is an undeniable historical fact that never did two Kosalas formed by virtue of the aforesaid separation reunite by establishing any kind of political relation. When the Marathas came into power in Chhattisgarh in 1745 they did not direct their attention to the Sambalpur Tract as that tract which afforded them easy passage to Orissa and beyond, was not a strategic point with them. To subvert, or rather to uproot, the Moslem Rule was what the Marathas aimed at, and as such Orissa Proper lying between two areas of Moslem influence, namely, the Northern Sircars and Bengal, was a strategic situation and that situation the Marathas secured in the course of five years from 1745 to 1750 A. D. If the Marathas were delayed in coming upon Orissa by being engaged in military operations in the Sambalpur Tract which was never in danger of being attacked by the Mahomedans from any direction, they would have surely failed to secure that advantage which they did by occupying Orissa Proper lying between the Sambal-

pur Tract on the west and the Bay of Bengal to the east.

Not the sea-board tract of Orissa alone but the highlands of Orissa occupied by the Rajas who were all vassal chiefs of the Raja of Puri came under the power of the Marathas; all the Rajas of Orissa Garjat Mahals were made to pay revenue very regularly to the Maratha overlord. It took some time for the Marathas from 1750 onward to secure and consolidate this position.

That the principalities of the Sambalpur Tract remained thoroughly independent during this time is proved by the fact that the Marathas after becoming masters of Eastern Orissa had to ask the Rulers of the principalities of the Sambalpur Tract to acknowledge the overlordship of the Bhonslas of Nagpur almost towards the end of the 18th century. This happened when Prithvi Sing Deo, the great-grandfather of the present Ruler of Sonpur, became the Ruler of Sonpur at the age of 28. When by the demand aforesaid the independence of Patna, Sambalpur and Sonpur was threatened, the Chohan Rulers of all those States stoutly declined to accept the humiliat-

ing situation. The Marathas who were mighty in those days became successful in capturing Prithvi Sing Deo and the then Ruler of Sambalpur. When the Rajas were made captive, payment of tribute was demanded by the Bhonslas, but this was declined to be paid by the people of the States. That it was really so is distinctly proved by the fact that Prithvi Sing Deo was kept as hostage by the Bhonslas for 17 long years. When however Raghunath Sing Deo, the then only son of Prithvi Sing Deo, died, the subjects of the State of Sonpur purchased the liberty of their Raja by paying a good amount to the Bhonslas. What was paid under these circumstances cannot certainly be called the payment of revenue. It cannot be shown that any other payment of any amount was subsequently paid by the State to the Bhonslas. To adduce positive proof that no tribute was paid by the State, some undoubted facts of the time may be mentioned. It was exactly when Prithvi Sing Deo was being released from his captivity that the Bhonslas entered into a treaty with the British Power, and ceded to the latter the whole of Eastern Orissa with its Garjat Mahals, and only a short

time after this the British overlordship was established in the Sambalpur Area. Again, it has to be mentioned that Prithvi Sing Deo and Raghuji Bhonsla became sworn friends when the former was released by the latter. This tie of friendship still subsists between the Sonpur and Nagpur Houses. It may be recorded here just for the sake of the history of Sonpur that on his return to Sonpur Prithvi Sing Deo married Gundichā Devī who became the mother of the next Ruler of Sonpur in 1837. It was in 1841 that Prithvi Sing Deo died.

It has been narrated in the interest of history how the Rulers of the States of the Sambalpur Tract with their record of thorough independence in pre-British times differ very essentially from those Rajas of the Garjat States of Eastern Orissa who (as the Feudatory Gazetteer by Cobden-Ramsay clearly shows) owe their origin, excepting in the case of the Ranpur State, to grants in their favour by the Rajas of modern Orissa. In confirmation of what has been stated by citing the old-time history a few facts ascertained by the British Government in this direction may be mentioned here.

The States of the five Ruling Chiefs of the Sambalpur Tract have only recently been taken out of the Central Provinces and have been placed under a Political Agent who is also the Political Agent of the Garjat Mahals of Orissa.

As all the States now placed under one Political Agent are uniformly designated as the Feudatory States of Orissa, the distinction that exists in status between the group of Chiefs of the Sambalpur Tract and the group of Orissa Chiefs should be set out very clearly by quoting some sentences from Government Papers as were published from 1863 to 1875.

Regarding the Orissa States, such as Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and others, it has been remarked in Aitchison's Treaties, Volume III, that these States were the Feudatories of Raghoji Bhonsla. On the Reports of Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Mills it was remarked by Sir Richard Temple that these States when ceded with the rest of Orissa by the Marathas to the British Government in 1803, "they were exempted from the operations of the General Regulation system prevailing in the British Provinces. This exemption was recognised on the ground of expediency

only, and it was held that there was nothing in the nature of the connection of Government with the Proprietors that would preclude their being brought under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Courts, if it should ever be thought advisable." As a matter of fact the Chiefs of the Orissa Tributary Mahals were invested with certain powers by the British Government to try civil and criminal cases occurring in their territories, but the British Government gave the Chiefs to understand that their powers might either be increased or decreased by the Government of Bengal. As such all orders passed by these Chiefs were subject to revision by the Commissioner of Cuttack, to whom they were bound to submit the records of their cases.

But the Feudatory Chiefs of the Sambalpur Tract, namely, the Chiefs of the States of Patna, Sonpur, Kalahandi, Bamra and Rehrakhol, exercise within their own States unlimited powers in judicial and executive administration. The powers exercised by the Sambalpur Chiefs are due to the inherent authority of the Chiefs, and not because these powers were conferred upon them by the British Government, as in the case of the Chiefs of the Orissa Tributary Mahals.

When the whole of the Sambalpur Tract came under the suzerainty of the British Government, a very careful enquiry was set about by the Government regarding the original status of the five Sambalpur Chiefs, and it was found that the Chiefs had been exercising full sovereign power in their own States from a very remote past. As such the British Government only recognised the Rulers of the Sambalpur Tract as Feudatory Chiefs with full plenary powers.

It was however provided by the British Government, when entering into a treaty with the Chiefs, that the Rulers of the States of Patna, Sonpur, Kalahandi, Bamra and Rehrakhol would "have to refer capital sentences only to the local Government, for confirmation." I have to explain the circumstances under which this small limitation was imposed by the British Government. Previous to the time of British rule, mutilation of limbs is supposed to have been a form of punishment in vogue in the States for certain offences. Since the British laws regarding the offences for which capital punishment may be inflicted, could not be enforced in the Feudatory States, the British Government had to provide some rules by virtue of which it could be ascer-

tained whether the sentences of capital punishment are passed in deserving cases or not, and whether as a form of capital punishment mutilation of limbs of prisoners would be ordered or not. This is why the Supreme Government provided in the preamble portion of the *Sanad* granted to the Chiefs that before executing the sentences of capital punishment the records might be sent for inspection and confirmation. Otherwise the Government does not interfere with any matter whatsoever in connection with the internal administration of the States.

This shows very clearly and definitely that excepting in one matter of reference, the Ruling Chief of Sonpur, and his other brother Chiefs in the Sambalpur Tract, are perfectly free to administer their own States with laws and regulations promulgated by themselves, and are not invested with powers like the Orissa Chiefs by the British Government.

Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has made a mention of the higher status of the Sambalpur Chiefs at page 317 of his work, "Among the Rajas and Ryots," in connection with an incident with which the Maharaja of Sonpur was personally

connected. The passage in the 1st edition of the book runs as follows :—

"A very interesting incident occurred in regard to the transfer of the five Oriya States (of Sambalpur) to Bengal. The Chiefs of these States had known me as the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. They came to me as a friend and . . . . stated that they had three objections to the proposed transfer to Bengal. The first was that their *powers and status as Feudatory Chiefs were higher than those of the Feudatory States of Orissa,* and that they feared that they might be reduced to the same level. . . . . . *It was easy for me to assure them, that as to their first difficulty their powers and privileges and status would be clearly and fully defined and recorded and that no diminution in any of them would occur.*"

To illustrate how royal authority was being exercised in former times, one customary rule obtaining in the State of Sonpur may be recorded here.

The Ruling Chief of Sonpur is, by virtue of immemorial customary rules, the head of all the caste associations in the State. All matters of caste disputes, as well as disputes regarding

religious offices, are referred to the Ruling Chief for his final authoritative decision. As it is, all over India, so it is in Sonpur, the people of different castes are not bound together by habitual social intercourse. In all the States of Sambalpur, the ethnical societies, as wholly separate genetic aggregations, are very well-marked. The people belonging to one caste form as it were a separate and independent organisation in the State of Sonpur. The different caste-guilds have their different caste-*panchayats* to decide all matters of caste disputes. These *panchayats* are formed and appointed by the Chief himself, and the representatives of the caste-guilds are specially appointed by the Ruling Chief as Headmen or Pānuās.

One section of the Goālās, called Nanda Gouḍs, are believed to have been brought into the Sambalpur Tract by the Chohan ancestors of the Sonpur Rulers. These Nanda Gouḍs, even though they belong to the British district of Sambalpur, and as such not bound to respect the authority of the Sonpur Rulers, do as a matter of fact refer all their caste disputes to the Sonpur Rulers and submit willingly to the authoritative decision of the Rulers of Sonpur.

I know also instances of other caste people of the British district of Sambalpur, who regard the authority of the Sonpur Rulers as highest and final in matters of their caste disputes. When this question arose amongst the Keots of Sambalpur, as to whether the son begotten upon a girl of Karan caste by a Keot father could be taken into caste, the Keots sought the decision of the present Maharaja of Sonpur.

I have stated that the Ruler of Sonpur nominates and appoints the head caste-men as Pānuās to represent the different caste-guilds to him, and to decide ordinary disputes, under his authority and direction, in the caste-*panchayats*. The Ruler of Sonpur is thus the ruler and leader of all the subjects of his State, and is the social and ecclesiastical head of all sections of people in his territory. This condition of things prevailed, and in some cases still prevail, in other States of the Sambalpur Area.